Originalveröffentlichung in: Jochem Kahl, Mahmoud El-Khadragy, Ursula Verhoeven, Andrea Kilian (Hg.), Seven Seasons at Asyut. First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork, The Asyut Project 2, Wiesbaden 2012, S. 1-30

Asyut and The Asyut Project

Jochem Kahl

1. Asyut: a city of culture, a border town and a wounded city

Museums all over the world display masterpieces of art which were found at Asyut. Especially worth mentioning are objects from the late First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions (for that term cf. MORENZ 2010: 35) and the Middle Kingdom, e.g. the wooden models of armed troops from the tomb of the nomarch Mesehti (Eleventh Dynasty; Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 257, 258; GRÉBAUT 1890-1900, 30-36, Pls. 33-37; BIETAK 1985), the wooden statues (i.a. Paris, Louvre E 11937) from the tomb of Nakhti (CHASSINAT/PALANQUE 1911: 48-49, Pls. 11-12; KAHL 2007: 93-95) or the coffin of Wepwawet-em-hat with a diagonal star clock on its lid (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 10135; HÖLZL 2007: 64-65). But also high quality pieces of art from later periods are known, e.g. a double-statue representing Wepwawet and Hathor-Isis (New York, MMA 17.2.5; cf. recently DUQUESNE 2008: 2-3), the cult chamber of the tomb of Amen-hotep (Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, Inv. 31010/1; Cleveland, Museum of Art, Inv. 63.100; Toledo (Ohio), Museum of Art, Inv. 62/64, Zürich, Kunsthaus, Inv. 1963/36; KARIG 1968: 27-34; KAHL 2007: 97-99) and a Graeco-Roman statue of a dog (Paris, Louvre E 11657; KAHL 2007: 153-154).

Egyptology has claimed Asyuti workmanship to be one of the best in Ancient Egypt. William Stevenson Smith wrote in 1957:

> Toward the end of the First Intermediate Period the workmanship at Assiut was well ahead of anything else being produced at any other site except at Thebes.
> (SMITH 1957: 223).

William C. Hayes concluded two years later:

> During the early Nineteenth Dynasty the ancient Upper Egyptian town of Si'ut (modern Asyut) was the home not only of several well-to-do officials of the national administration, but also of an accomplished atelier of sculptors, to whose able hands we owe … admirable pieces of private tomb statuary.
> (HAYES 1959: 347-349).

In like manner Asyuti architecture is held in high esteem. Dietrich Wildung classed the tombs of Asyuti Middle Kingdom nomarchs to the most important monuments of their period (WILDUNG 1984: 34). Walther Wolf highlighted the architecture of Tomb I:

> In Asjut erreicht das Grab des Gaufürsten Djefai-hapi in seiner stützenlosen Felsenhalle eine Weite, die auch spätere Zeiten nicht übertroffen haben.
> (WOLF 1957: 312).

Today also Asyuti texts of the Twelfth Dynasty nomarch Djefai-Hapi I belong to the most classics: Alan Henderson Gardiner included 282 quotations from Djefai-Hapi's tomb inscriptions in his Middle Egyptian Grammar (GARDINER 1957). The tomb of Djefai-Hapi I (Siut I; Tomb I) is the most quoted textual source in Gardiner's Egyptian Grammar after Sinuhe, The Eloquent Peasant and the Teachings of Ptahhotep (Table 1).

Literary works	Number of quotations
Sinuhe B	569
Peasant B1	358
Ptahhotep	347
Siut I (= Tomb I; Djefai-Hapi I)	282
Shipwrecked Sailor	272
Beni Hasan I	199
Admonitions (pLeiden 344 rto.)	160
Dialogue of a Man with his Soul	157

Table 1: Quotations in GARDINER 1957.

Not only modern Egyptology, also the ancient Egyptians esteemed Asyuti products (KAHL 1999; KAHL 2007: 16-18). Texts from Asyuti First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions and Middle Kingdom tombs were copied on monuments and papyri throughout Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Roman Period, such as we see in the tombs of Senen-mut (TT 353; KAHL 1994: 41-42), Puy-em-re (TT 39; MONTET 1928: 68), Mont-em-hat (TT 34; KUHLMANN/SCHENKEL 1983: 73, note 254), Ibi (TT 36; KUENTZ 1934: 161) and others (cf. in detail KAHL 1999) as well as on Roman papyri from Tebtynis (OSING 1998a). Presumably via libraries (KAHL 1999: 283-355), these texts were frequently copied and recopied and thus constitute a continuous tradition. The Asyuti material circulated all over Egypt: in Thebes, Naga el-Hasaya (near Edfu), Memphis/Saqqara, Heliopolis, Sais, Roda(?), Athribis, Kom Abu Yasin, Tuna el-Gebel and Tebtynis (KAHL 1999: 302-17). Asyut formed part of Egypt's cultural memory, that is to say, the stored knowledge and memories of the past which are specific to a given culture and through which a culture creates its identity in an ongoing process (for the conception of the cultural memory cf. ASSMANN 1992).

And even ancient people abroad were interested in Asyuti workmanship. Presumably during the Second Intermediate Period statues of persons named Djefai-Hapi were deported to Sudan and the Near East (HELCK 1976: 101-115; VALBELLE 1998: 176-183). They were valued as prestige objects in the Sudan (KENDALL 1997: 24-27; REISNER 1931: 80; DUNHAM 1937-1938: 14, Fig. 7) and in Lebanon (CHÉHAB 1969: 22, Pl. 4.1).

These short introductory remarks might reveal the importance of ancient Asyut as a city of culture. But Asyut was also a border town and a wounded city (cf. KAHL 2007: 3-20 for more details).

Despite of its location in the center of Egypt and just for that very reason Asyut played the role of a border town on many occasions. The etymology of Asyut's ancient toponym – *S3ww.ti* "The Guardian" (OSING 1976: 320, 866, note 1377) – refers to her unique geographical position: Situated to the south of the Gebel Abu el-Feda, the most dangerous passage of the Nile to the north of the First Cataract (KAHL 2007: 14), and at the beginning of the desert road Darb al-Arbaᶜin ("The Forty Days Road"; KAHL 2007: 14-15), Asyut served as a crossroad along the Egyptian trade routes. Asyut was vulnerable and open to incursions, because it provided a direct link to the South. It was therefore a site of great strategic importance for the last five millennia and was involved in wars on numerous occasions.

A reflection of these times of war is represented by a dense attestation of weapons and soldiers in Asyut during Pharaonic Egypt. First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions and early Middle Kingdom nomarchs depicted themselves in their tombs with their troops – either as wall decoration as in Tomb IV (EL-KHADRAGY 2008), Tomb N13.1 (EL-KHADRAGY 2007a; KAHL 2007: 81, Fig. 60) and the Northern Soldiers-Tomb (H11.1; EL-KHADRAGY 2006a: 162, Fig. 6) or as models such as in the tomb of Mesehti (GRÉBAUT 1890-1900, 30-36, Pls. 33-37; BIETAK 1985), or they had weapons and models of weapons as grave goods (e.g. Tomb III; publication by Monika Zöller in preparation). Hitherto unique is a representation on the walls of Tomb III (KAHL 2007: 76, Fig. 53): Here, Egyptian soldiers are depicted fighting against each other. Bows and arrows (D'AMICONE/POZZI BATTAGLIA 2009a/2009b: 54) were used as grave goods for First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions burials. Soldiers are well attested by the so-called Salakhana stelae, votive stelae, which date from the New Kingdom to the Late Period (DUQUESNE 2009: 575-594). Also the census register Papyrus Oxyrhynchos 984 recto from 89/90 CE mentions several soldiers (cf. infra 5.9.1).

Several horizons of destruction are attested for Asyut – the earliest one at the end of the First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions, when a civil war between Herakleopolis in the north and Thebes in the south severely affected the country. Asyut was obviously the last bastion of the Herakleopolitan kingdom and the final theatre of war, since Asyuti local rulers were the closest allies of Herakleopolis. These events must have occurred between 2063 and 2045 BCE (KAHL 2007: 6).

Also during the Second Intermediate Period Asyut and its surrounding area marked the border of a divided Egypt (BIETAK 1994: 27). There is circumstantial evidence that either the Hyksos or the Kushites plundered the Asyuti necropolis and eventually even the city itself (KAHL 2007: 10).

During the Assyrian invasion of Egypt, in the first half of the seventh century BCE, the Assyrian ruler Assarhaddon installed a governor in Asyut, who was driven away by dissident Kushites or Egyptians. Assurbanipal subsequently reinstalled this governor, but

the governor himself finally revolted against his protector (Prism A; ONASCH 1994: 36, 55, 118-121). Asyut was once again the center of a civil war.

From 196 to 195 BCE the Theban rival king Ankh-Wennefer seized Aswan in the south of Thebes and advanced to the region of Asyut in the north. He brought his fight for Egypt's independence from the Ptolemaic sovereigns to the Asyuti region: A village near Asyut was depopulated. Once again Asyut was the critical point of separation in a civil war: Since we have no information that Ankh-Wennefer was able to move further to the north, we may suppose that he was driven back by the Ptolemies after a battle near Asyut (MCGING 1997: 299-310; VEÏSSE 2004: 11-26; KAHL 2007: 12).

In Late Antiquity Asyut was threatened and plundered by Blemmyes and other Nubian invaders (cf. KAHL 2007: 12).

Asyut's function as a border town is also reflected in the double vizierate during the New Kingdom as well as in Ptolemaic and Roman provincial administration. Both times Asyut marked the northern border of the southern administrative districts (KAHL 2007: 13).

On many occasions Asyut played the role of a border town, which led to its being wounded, ransacked and destroyed: Asyut has been a wounded city. According to the American sociologists Jane Schneider and Ida Susser "wounded cities, like all cities, are dynamic entities, replete with the potential to recuperate loss and reconstruct anew for the future" (SUSSER/SCHNEIDER 2003: 1). It is exactly this fate which might have led to Asyut's cultural achievements. Periods of flourishing art and architecture as well as prosperity followed periods of destruction.

2. The aims of The Asyut Project

Asyut's special role as a wounded city, a border town and a city of culture is the reason for our fieldwork in the western mountains of Asyut, in the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi (Pls. 14-15). Asyut's material culture, her theology, her schools and traditions show differences to other Egyptian cities and are an outstanding study object for the regional diversity within Ancient Egypt.

The Gebel Asyut al-gharbi is the only site currently accessible to explore ancient Asyut. The ancient city and its temples have been almost completely buried and lost under the strata of the alluvial plain and especially the rapidly growing modern city. Archaeological fieldwork is not possible without removing parts of the modern settlement. Illicit excavations of house owners in Asyut (KAHL 2007: 44) provide us with some information about the location of the main temple of Asyut, the temple of the chief deity Wepwawet. It can be located 8 meters beneath the modern surface in the Old City of Asyut (KAHL 2007: 39-48).

Beside the temple of Wepwawet we have inscriptional evidence of the temples of Anubis, Osiris, Hathor and Thoth (KAHL 2007: 49-54; cf. the contribution of Ursula Verhoeven in this volume). But, unfortunately, their exact location within the city is still unknown. Further temples or cults also attested to Maat, Aten, Amun-Ra, Amun, Khonsu, Sekhmet, Neith, Isis, Isis-Hathor, Horus son of Isis and son of Osiris, Serapis, Pepy I, Ramesses Meryamun, the God in Asyut, and Djefai-Hapi (KAHL 2007: 50, 54-58).

Despite this difficult situation of the archaeological inaccessibility of the city itself, the exploration of the mountain situated to the west of Asyut provides plenty of information on Asyuti culture.

The mountain peak of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi rises to over two hundred meters above sea level. The human installations in the gebel extend over several kilometers along the cultivated land – the gebel has been mainly used as necropolis at least since the Old Kingdom (perhaps even the Early Dynastic Period) until now, but also as quarry from the Pharaonic Period to modern times, as a destination for school excursions during the early New Kingdom, as a dwelling place for Christian anachoretes, as a place of prayer and a cemetery during the Islamic Period as well as a camp for the military (in modern times and maybe as early as during the Third Persian Occupation of Egypt). The objectives of The Asyut Project's work in the western mountain at Asyut are:

- Mapping the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi.
- Documenting single architectural structures, as for example a single tomb, a single monastery etc., and all related objects. This is due to the missing or incomplete documentation (of architecture, decoration, inscriptions, objects) as well as the endangered state of the structures.
- Determining and reconstructing the specific function of certain parts of the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi at a certain time period, e.g. the changes from the Middle Kingdom usage as a necropolis to the New Kingdom usage as a quarry and to the Coptic usage as a monastic site.
- General reconstruction of the complexity of the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi, its changes and its continuity.
- Reconstructing the "histories" of Asyut, i.e. the social history, the cultural history, the political history etc.
- Pinpointing the Asyuti traditions and cultural achievements and thus contributing to the question of regional diversity in Ancient Egypt.

3. Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

According to Dietrich and Rosemarie Klemm (KLEMM/KLEMM 2006; KLEMM/KLEMM 2008: 112-115; KAHL/EL-KHADRAGY/VERHOEVEN 2006: 242; KAHL 2007: 59-61), who undertook a geological survey for The Asyut Project in 2005, the mountain can be divided into eleven geological steps. Each step starts with a more massive limestone of 5-15 m thickness and grades at its top into marly and shaly beds of 0.5-3 m thickness. Climatic influences have shaped these beds into softly inclined slopes, while the more massive limestone, in comparison, form steep cuts. Thus, this rhythmic layering forms morphological steps, which can be easily followed over a stretch of a few kilometers due to their flat horizontal bedding. Nevertheless, in places the entire hill slope of the archaeological site of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi is so heavily covered with debris that it is hard to recognize these steps.

The geological division of the mountain also mirrors its use as necropolis. Thousands of rock tombs were hewn into the mountain and make it look like a honeycomb. Tomb

builders respected the geological division of the mountain and built the tombs within one geological step, thus avoiding instability of their construction.

Several official larger excavations took place in Gebel Asyut al-gharbi (for details cf. the overviews given by RYAN 1988: 17-32; KAHL 2007: 21-33; ZITMAN 2010: 45-69):

– Mohammed Halfawee 1889
– Émile Gaston Chassinat and Charles Palanque 1903
– David George Hogarth 1906/07
– Ernesto Schiaparelli 1906-1913
– Ahmed Bey Kamal 1913/14.

All excavators succeeded in enlarging the museums of their countries (Paris, Louvre; London, British Museum; Turin, Egyptian Museum; Asyut, Khashaba Collection). However, all excavators neglected to publish a general map of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi or facsimiles of inscriptions and decoration or a plan of the architecture of the individual tombs. They also completely neglected to publish the results of their excavations. Only one, the French excavation, resulted in a monograph and an article (CHASSINAT/PALANQUE 1911; PALANQUE 1903). Kamal published a list of objects found during his fieldwork, but without adding drawings or photos of the objects (KAMAL 1916). Halfawee, Hogarth and Schiaparelli did not publish at all. Even notebooks from some of Schiaparelli's fieldwork seasons are missing. Some excavators used methods which do not correspond with the modern archaeological standard and which were already disputed during the beginning of the twentieth century: Hogarth used dynamite (RYAN 1988: 79), Chassinat and Palanque removed Coptic monuments (Deir el-Meitin) without recording them in order to reach First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions and/or Middle Kingdom tombs, which had been untouched at least since Coptic Period (CHASSINAT/PALANQUE 1911: 2-4).

4. The strategy of fieldwork

Fieldwork of The Asyut Project aims to generate a comprehensive picture of the function and changes of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi. Therefore different strategies of research are pursued, which complement each other.

4.1 Mapping Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

The complete lack of reliable maps and plans made mapping the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi one of the main tasks of The Asyut Project (before The Asyut Project started, only Hogarth's unpublished map of the necropolis existed, which is inaccurate or even faulty in several parts: e.g. there are tombs on the summit of the gebel contra Hogarth and ZITMAN 2010, who used Hogarth's map; the location of Stabl Antar (Tomb I) is wrong in Hogarth's map [or one may assume that Hogarth denoted Tomb II as Stabl Antar]).

Surveying and cleaning have been essential parts of every fieldwork season. This way more than 200 architectural structures could be mapped so far (Pls. 16-19). Some of them are large tombs, the cleaning of which took or will still take several seasons, others are small tombs, which were cleaned in only one day, still others are tombs of which the entrance is visible, but which have not yet been cleaned up. One can suppose that only a

small percentage of the tombs cut into the rock are visible today. Destruction by quarrying activities, tomb robbers, rainfall and early excavators attributed to the ruinous state of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi. One can compare Gebel Asyut al-gharbi with a human body devoid of flesh and skin; just the skeleton is preserved. Due to quarrying about 10 to 15 meters rock surface is missing on each step of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi in direction of the modern city. For example, in front of Tomb I a complete roofed room was blown away at the end of the eighteenth century (cf. KAHL 2007: 86-92). And as a result of these activities, one can also see the steep front of the cliffs to the north and south of Tomb I. As a further result of quarrying, but also due to early archaeological fieldwork and landslide, most parts of the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi are covered by massive amounts of debris. Cleaning certain areas of the gebel often means removing a layer of debris more than six meters high (e.g. in front of the Tomb of the Dogs or in the inner hall of Tomb V).

The Asyut Project's map of the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi is arranged like a city map (Pl. 14). A grid system was laid over Gebel Asyut al-gharbi (FAUERBACH 2006). The grid system divides the map into 50 m x 50 m squares. These squares are labeled by a letter and a number (e.g. N13) and every single structure in this square is denoted in numerical order beginning with 1 (e.g. N13.1, N13.2 …). The advantage of this system is obvious: the structures on the map are easy to find. A system, however, such as that used by early Egyptologists is completely unclear as it gives just one number to tombs, which are spread all over the mountain (e.g. Tomb I, Tomb II etc.; it is regrettable that ZITMAN 2010 continued to use the old numbering system and even extended it: e.g. he gave Tomb N13.1 the number XVII. As a consequence, one has to search his map for the tombs: his Tomb XIII is in the northwest, his Tomb XVII in the northeast and his Tomb XVIII again in the northwest of the gebel). In addition, it is always possible to show parts of the map of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi in detail (Pl. 16) or to show only some prominent structures (Pls. 17-19).

4.2 Recording single structures

A thorough documentation of such individual architectural structures takes place, which promise to provide substantial information on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi and Asyut as well as on Egyptian history in general. This pertains particularly to the tombs of the nomarchs, which can be dated relatively precisely and are already well known in Egyptology, but have never been reliably documented. These tombs are Tomb I (P10.1; Djefai-Hapi I), Tomb III (N12.1; Iti-ibi), Tomb IV (N12.2; Khety II), Tomb V (M11.1; Khety I). The tombs are already mentioned in the publications of Griffith (GRIFFITH 1889a; GRIFFITH 1889b) and Montet (MONTET 1928; MONTET 1930-35; MONTET 1936), but these publications lack a complete description of the tombs: The architecture is not well recorded, mostly relying on the plans made by the French Expedition in 1799. Only parts of the inscriptions and decorations are reproduced in hand copy. These hand copies contain a number of mistakes; sometimes the inaccuracies and omissions in Griffith's copies are above 30% (e.g. in mortuary liturgy no. 7 on the northern wall of the first corridor). Other inscriptions and pictorial decoration were not recorded at all – probably due to the darkness in the tombs and the height of the tomb walls. It is obvious, for example, that ladders could not reach the upper parts of the inscribed wall in the first corridor of Tomb I. Therefore, the greatest number of mistakes in Griffith's hand copy were made in this corridor, or the inscriptions and the decoration were not copied at all. Also the finds from these tombs were never

recorded at all. The objects found by The Asyut Project will be studied and published. Thus, for the first time, an archaeological documentation of Asyuti material including exactly recorded and dated locations is commenced. Even if this material comprises mostly fragments and is at first glance not as beautiful as the many objects from the early excavations, it will provide us with much more precise information concerning chronology and criteria for dating.

Other nomarchs' tombs will be recorded in the future subject to funding. Especially Tomb II (O13.1; Djefai-Hapi II, Pls. 30-31) and Tomb VII (Salakhana Tomb; Djefai-Hapi III) are candidates. Unfortunately the latter is used as a basecamp by the Egyptian military and is currently not accessible.

Other recently detected and hitherto unknown tombs will be studied completely: Tomb N13.1, which belonged to the nomarch Iti-ibi(-iqer), who lived during the very end of the First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions, when Mentu-hotep II had already conquered Asyut on his way to Herakleopolis (KAHL forthcoming), and the so called Northern Soldiers-Tomb (Tomb H11.1), which can approximately be dated to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty (EL-KHADRAGY 2006a; KAHL 2007: 83-84); this tomb was mentioned by MAGEE 1988: II, 36-38 for the first time.

In addition, nomarchs' tombs or possible nomarchs' tombs have been (re)located: P13.1 whose owner was a Hatia Djefai-Hapi (cf. VERHOEVEN 2011). Also the Tomb of Mesehti seems to have been relocated, but the final identification is still pending.

Although nomarchs' tombs provide plenty of information about ancient Asyut, they always reflect the highest social stratum of the Asyuti population. Therefore, also other smaller tombs were already recorded and will be recorded in future – especially on geological step 7 and also in the area of the Tomb of the Dogs. Already more than 80 tombs from the Old Kingdom to the early Middle Kingdom have been recorded on step 7.

Not only tombs for human beings, but also tombs for sacred animals are studied. Animal necropoleis are known from Asyut by written sources: necropoleis of canides, ibis, baboons, cattle, birds of prey (KAHL 2007: 66-68). The Asyut Project focuses on the so called Tomb of the Dogs area (O11), which could be located thanks to old travelogues, information of native people and a zooarchaeological survey (KAHL 2009: 117-121; KITAGAWA 2009: 122-129; KAHL/KITAGAWA 2010: 77-81).

4.3 Surveying certain parts of the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

Several surveys conducted on the gebel shall provide new information about the mountain and the city. Up until now, the northernmost part of the necropolis (cf. KAHL 2008: 200; EICHNER/BECKH 2010: 208), the area around the Tomb of the Dogs (KITAGAWA 2009) and the areas around Deir el-Azzam and Deir el-Meitin (EICHNER/BECKH 2010) were surveyed. These surveys gave new insights especially into the Late Period and Coptic Period activities on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi.

Furthermore every year certain parts of the gebel have been surveyed by a surveyor or architect and visible tombs (i.e. not hidden by debris) have been entered into the map of the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi (cf. the preliminary reports in *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 2004-2011).

4.4 Tracing ways in the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

There is textual evidence that causeways to tombs existed in the gebel. Part of the causeway to Tomb I was already found (ENGEL/KAHL 2009) and it is hoped to still detect causeways to other tombs.

On principle, there must have been routes into the gebel. Therefore geological step 7 has been chosen to be cleaned on a larger distance in order to find traces of eventual ways in that part of the necropolis.

4.5 Studying modern reports on the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

Relatively recent information on the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi will also be recorded and compared with the current situation at the site: At the moment there is a focus on European and American travelogues from the eighteenth and nineteenth century on the one hand and on folk traditions about the gebel on the other hand, which are going to be gathered on the site.

4.6 Interdisciplinary research

Interdisciplinary research plays an important role in the fieldwork. Experts from the fields of Physical Anthropology, Zooarchaeology, Botany, Byzantine Archaeology, and Islamic Archaeology are constant partners in The Asyut Project.

4.7 Combining the different approaches

The combination of the results achieved from the different approaches of exploring Gebel Asyut al-gharbi will provide a dense picture of the mountain, its history, its functions and changes as well as of the regional diversity of the material and intellectual culture of Asyut from the Old Kingdom to the Mamluk Period. It is to be hoped that The Asyut Project will provide a much better understanding of the peculiarities of this Middle Egyptian metropolis.

5. Chronological outline of Asyut

5.1 Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom

5.1.1 General information about Asyut

Evidence for Asyut during the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom has been very scarce up until now. The earliest documented evidence for the Asyuti nome (13th Upper Egyptian nome) comes from the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty: King Sneferu established four domains there as shown in his Valley Temple (cf. JACQUET-GORDON 1962: 106, Fig. F, 132).

The earliest inscriptions (cf. KAHL 2007: 112) mentioning the town are the Fifth Dynasty sarcophagus of the vizier Min-nefer (Leiden, RMO AMT 106) and Pyramid Texts of the Sixth Dynasty (Pyr §§ 630a-c, 1634a-c).

5.1.2 Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

5.1.2.1 Early fieldwork

Gebel Asyut al-gharbi houses/housed some structures which can be dated to the Old Kingdom. Especially worth mentioning is an Old Kingdom tomb lost today, whose rear wall with nine standing rock cut statues was sketched by Bonaparte's Commission (PANCKOUCKE 1822: Pl. 46.9; WILKINSON 1843: 88; KAHL 2007: 69, 72).

Based on the dating of the inventory of tombs excavated by Hogarth in 1906/07, there are some late Old Kingdom tombs (Hogarth tombs 45, 49, 53-54 and 56-57) situated in the middle part of the mountain higher up the cliffs. However, their exact position is not certain due to the rough mapping by Hogarth (cf. RYAN 1988: 3; cf. also ZITMAN 2010: maps: 3, Map 1 [Hogarth's map without these tombs], 6, Map 3 [with approximate position of these tombs as assumed by Zitman], ZITMAN 2010: text: 71-91).

The coffin (BM EA 46629) of the Inspector of the Priests of the Ka-House of King Pepy, Hetep-nebi, was found in Hogarth Tomb 56 (DAVIES 1995: 146, Pl. 31.1; KAHL 2007: 57; ZITMAN 2010: maps: 112-113 [S8L]); the cartouche of Pepy might refer to Pepy I, who built several Ka-houses all over Egypt. Although it is tempting to suggest that Hetep-nebi lived during the Sixth Dynasty, there is no proof that he was a contemporary of King Pepy I. The cult for Pepy I in his Ka-House might have continued for some time after his death.

A cylinder seal (BM EA 47460-350; ZITMAN 2010: maps: 101, Fig. 27.2) of an official of King Pepy I was found in an unlabeled coffin in Hogarth's Tomb 53. But also this is no definite proof that the owner of the coffin was a contemporary of Pepy I. According to Magee it is unlikely that an official of Pepy I would be buried in an unlabeled coffin at Asyut. The seal may have been in the possession of the owner of this coffin after the death of Pepy I (MAGEE 1988: I, 62).

Finds from Schiaparelli's excavations point to a late Old Kingdom or early First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions burial in the lower cliffs in the northwest (ZITMAN 2010: text: 89-90), even if the exact locations of the Old Kingdom objects from Schiaparelli's excavations are not known due to missing digging diaries.

In addition, there are only few archaeological objects known from early excavations which could belong even to the Early Dynastic Period: The French excavations conducted in 1903 by Chassinat and Palanque brought to light some stone vessels, which are of Early Dynastic or early Old Kingdom date (CHASSINAT/PALANQUE 1911: 162, Pl. 31.2; KAHL 2007: 109, 114, Fig. 97). Schiaparelli excavated some vessels (pottery), which are called "archaic" in his inventory-list (1911-1913; ZITMAN 2010: text: 90, n. 589).

5.1.2.2 Fieldwork of The Asyut Project

On geological step 7, fieldwork conducted by The Asyut Project uncovered dozens of small shaft tombs in front and to the south of Tomb N13.1, originally covered with mud bricks. According to the pottery found in them, the tombs can be dated to the late Old Kingdom (Pls. 20-21). The finds still have to be studied in detail, but at the moment one can state that the burials were equipped with pottery, sometimes a headrest, a necklace, plants and a wooden coffin or a reed mat. The physical anthropological studies show that the buried

people were mostly in relatively good physical condition (cf. the contribution by Magdalena Patolla in this volume).

Surveying Gebel Asyut al-gharbi also led to the discovery of Old Kingdom pottery at several locations between geological step 6 and step 9. The pottery was lying on the surface and might often have fallen down from the next higher step. This pottery can be dated from Third Dynasty to the late Old Kingdom (RZEUSKA 2011). Therefore one may conclude that the higher situated steps of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi were already used as a burial ground during the early Old Kingdom. Thus, for the first time the fieldwork of The Asyut Project brought to light evidence for an early occupation of the necropolis.

5.2 *First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions*

5.2.1 General information about Asyut

Asyut played a prominent role in Egypt during the end of the First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions. The city was the final stage of war between the aggressively expanding Theban troops and the northern Herakleopolitan Kingdom. The autobiographical inscriptions in the tombs of the nomarchs Iti-ibi (Tomb III) and Khety II (Tomb IV) report about this civil war, which affected Asyut for probably more than two generations (cf. KAHL 2007: 6-8; 74-79; BRUNNER 1937; SCHENKEL 1965: 74-89).

5.2.2 First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

5.2.2.1 Early fieldwork

According to the finds in museums, many burials from the First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions are known from Asyut, even if one cannot always clearly differentiate between late Old Kingdom and early First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions or late First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions and early Middle Kingdom. Unfortunately the exact origin of these finds was not recorded. Therefore determining an exact location of the finds and their tombs on the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi is difficult or impossible.[1]

Griffith's and Montet's copies (no facsimiles) of the inscriptions of Tomb III, IV, and V are still Egyptological standard (GRIFFITH 1889b; MONTET 1928; 1930-35; 1936).

5.2.2.2 Fieldwork of The Asyut Project

The Asyut Project focuses on the first systematic documentation of Asyut's First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions nomarchs' tombs. Tomb III, IV and V are/will be recorded for the first time in detail: their architecture, inscriptions, paintings and objects.

Fieldwork in Tomb V is still in progress. After removing debris more than six meters high from the collapsed roof and façade, two hitherto unknown shafts came to light (Pls.

1 Cf. Zitman's recent attempt (ZITMAN 2010) to map tombs in the gebel, of which objects are stored in the British Museum or in the Egyptian Museum in Turin. His maps are only tentative and his interpretation does not take into account the difficult situation in the gebel: Today, large areas of the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi are covered by debris caused by rainfall and the work of early excavators.

22-23). While one was unfinished, the other was completely hewn into the gebel and led to a burial chamber in the north. (The denomination of the directions corresponds to the religious conventions: The wall with the false door is called western wall according to the Egyptian idea of the Netherworld situated in the west. The exact geographical position of the false door is southwest). In addition to the known autobiographical inscriptions (KAHL 2007: 74; BRUNNER 1937: 11-16, 64-69; SCHENKEL 1965: 69-74; SCHENKEL 1978: 29-35; SPANEL 1989: 304-305), there are also traces of painted decorations in Tomb V, which show that the tomb was once completely decorated (EL-KHADRAGY/KAHL 2004: 241-243; KAHL 2007: 70).

Fieldwork in Tomb III (N12.1) is already finished. Tomb III seems to have been executed completely during the First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions (Pls. 24-25): In addition to the well-known autobiographical inscription on the eastern part of the northern wall, all walls of Tomb III were painted and/or inscribed (KAHL 2007: 76; EL-KHADRAGY/KAHL 2004: 236-239). There are also four vertical shafts hewn into the floor of the tomb's hall, each one leading to a burial chamber in the south. In front of the tomb are two small side chambers.

The decoration of Tomb IV (N12.2) was unfinished but, contrary to prevailing older Egyptological opinion, there were two completely executed shafts hewn into the floor of the tomb's inner hall (Pls. 26-27; EL-KHADRAGY 2006b).

The discovery of the tomb of Iti-ibi-iqer (N13.1, Pls. 28-29) in 2005, a nomarch who lived during the reign of Mentu-hotep II – who ruled at that time either over southern Egypt including Asyut or possibly already over the reunified Egypt – meant a substantial contribution to our knowledge about the end of the First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions. Inscriptions, decoration (EL-KHADRAGY 2007a) and the proportions of the figures (KAHL forthcoming) shed a new light on Asyut's history during the reunification of Egypt under King Mentu-hotep II.

In addition to these nomarchs' tombs, which will be studied completely, The Asyut Project revealed other tombs from that period providing new information about Asyut. Especially worth mentioning are some small tombs situated close to Tomb N13.1, which seem to be contemporary to this nomarch's tomb.

The relatively large Tomb N11.1 located on step 5 below Tomb V is also of a First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions or early Middle Kingdom date.[2]

5.3 Middle Kingdom

5.3.1 General information about Asyut

Middle Kingdom Asyut was a cultural center. As monumental tombs and wooden statues, high quality texts and coffins prove, Asyut housed a school of scribes, theologians, architects and sculptors during the First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions and the

2 It is to be hoped that a detailed study of the pottery by Andrea Kilian will clarify this point. A photo of this tomb is published in WILDUNG 1984: 154, Fig. 134, but there the tomb is erroneously attributed to the nomarch Iti-ibi.

Middle Kingdom (KAHL 1999: 17; KAHL 2007: 151-153).[3] They were able to produce high quality texts and works of art, simultaneously observing local types and styles. Presumably they worked at the nomarchs' court or at the temples and were in touch with artists and scholars from the residence (KAHL 2007: 153).

5.3.2 Middle Kingdom on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

5.3.2.1 Early fieldwork

Early excavations revealed plenty of objects from Middle Kingdom Asyut: Probably most tombs of the French excavation conducted by Chassinat and Palanque in 1903 are of early Middle Kingdom date. These tombs are situated below Deir el-Meitin.

Hogarth's excavation discovered many objects, which are still waiting to be studied. Progress has been made by the recent publication of Middle Kingdom coffins and pottery by Marcel Zitman (ZITMAN 2010), although unfortunately there are no photos or drawings of the coffins included in the publication.

Also the Italian excavations conducted by Ernesto Schiaparelli focused on Middle Kingdom tombs. Statues and statuettes, parts of tomb walls, wooden models, coffins, headrests, pottery and other objects found their way to the Egyptian Museum in Turin without having been documented (cf. the exhibition Egitto Mai Visto, which gives an overview of the finds from the Italian excavations: D'AMICONE/POZZI BATTAGLIA 2009a and 2009b. The lack of basic documentation often reduces the possibility of substantial interpretation).

At present, Middle Kingdom objects from Kamal's fieldwork are widespread in collections all over the world (cf. the short report by KAMAL 1916 and the overview given by ZITMAN 2010: text: 64-68; maps: 281-282).

Inscriptions and decorations of Tomb I (Djefai-Hapi I; temp. Senwosret I) and Tomb II (Djefai-Hapi II) were copied several times (e.g. Hay [unpublished], GRIFFITH 1889b: Pls. 1-10; MONTET 1928: 54-68; 1930-35: 45-86), but never completely. The French Expedition recorded the architecture of Tomb I (PANCKOUCKE 1822: Pl. 44) and Tomb II (PANCKOUCKE 1822: Pls. 46.10, 47.1).

The Salakhana Tomb (Tomb VII; cf. KAHL 2007: 92-93) belongs to the nomarch Djefai-Hapi III (Twelfth Dynasty). Its architecture (PORTER/MOSS 1934: 264) is comparable to Tomb I and the large nomarchs' tombs at Qaw el-Kebir. Today, the tomb is inaccessible to researchers, because the Egyptian military is using it as a base.

Objects from the tomb of Mesehti (Eleventh Dynasty) appeared at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century over several years and are for the most part today in the Petrie Museum, University College London and in the Egyptian Museum Cairo (cf. the useful list in ZITMAN 2010: maps: 210-212), but once again their original location within the tomb is not known. The state of documentation and publication of Middle Kingdom objects from early excavations is more than unsatisfactory.

3 ZITMAN 2010: text: 234 misinterpreted the statement in KAHL 1999: 17, when he claimed that there would be written that Siutian burials of the early MK would reflect the political or economic decline of the city. It is written, that the city did not gain the political importance of the First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions again, but that nevertheless the culture of the city was flourishing.

And it seems to be clear, that the original locations of most of the objects and the circumstances of their discovery will never be known.

5.3.2.2 Fieldwork of The Asyut Project

Several undertakings of The Asyut Project concern Middle Kingdom tombs in Gebel Asyut al-gharbi. Fieldwork has been conducted in Tomb N13.1 (nomarch Iti-ibi-iqer, temp. Mentu-hotep II, cf. 5.2.2.2; EL-KHADRAGY 2007a), in the Northern Soldiers-Tomb (Tomb H11.1, Eleventh Dynasty; EL-KHADRAGY 2006a), and in Tomb I (nomarch Djefai-Hapi I, temp. Senwosret I; KAHL 2007: 86-92; EL-KHADRAGY 2007b; EL-KHADRAGY 2007c; ENGEL/KAHL 2009). In addition, other Middle Kingdom tombs have been studied, e.g. Tomb II (nomarch Djefai-Hapi II, Twelfth Dynasty; cf. the contribution by Meike Becker in this volume), Tomb O11.15 (remains of a Middle Kingdom shaft with objects, among others a calcite statuette of a seated man; PRELL 2011), Tomb M10.1 (KAHL 2007: 95-96; VERHOEVEN forthcoming), Tomb I10.1 (KAHL 2007: 96-97).

Inscriptions and decorations on the walls of Tomb I have been recorded completely between 2004 and 2010 and are yet awaiting collation. Parts of this tomb escaped the attention of early researchers due to the tomb's height and darkness. Francis Llewellyn Griffith reported in 1889 that ladders and candles were his most important tools to transcribe hieroglyphs from the walls (GRIFFITH 1889a: 123). Today, we are able to use electricity and scaffoldings and receive full support from the restorers of the Supreme Council of Antiquities. Djefai-Hapi's tomb was cut into step 2, the lower stratum of the mountain. A sequence of rooms hewn into the mountain and measuring more than 55 meters in length is still standing today (Pl. 32). A further room was originally cut into the mountain. However, it was destroyed by quarrying at the end of the eighteenth century CE. Only a small part of the roof and some side walls are visible today (Pls. 33a-b). The original architecture of the monumental tomb could be reconstructed by archaeological remains, old travelogues and the famous ten contracts inscribed on one of the tomb walls (ENGEL/KAHL 2009). There were a shrine and a garden in the cultivated area as well as a causeway (Pl. 33a) leading to the today destroyed first room (Pl. 33b). The still preserved parts of the tomb consist of an eleven meters high first passage, a great

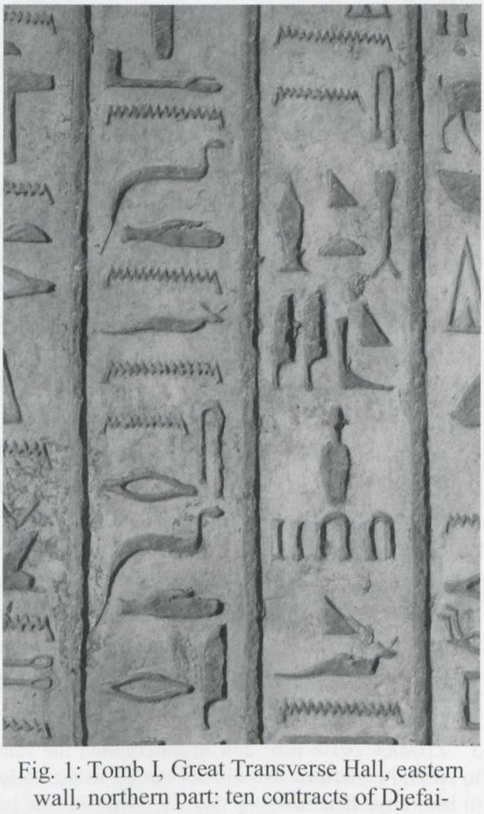


Fig. 1: Tomb I, Great Transverse Hall, eastern wall, northern part: ten contracts of Djefai-Hapi I (detail) (© Barthel 2010).

transverse hall, a second longitudinal passage and a second hall housing a large shrine cut from rock. The northern wall of the first passage originally showed the tomb owner and other pictorial decoration, but then the decoration program was changed and the quite unique mortuary liturgy no. 7 (cf. KAHL 1994, 1999: 53-186; ASSMANN 2002: 469-518) was written over the pictorial representations. The north-eastern wall of the great transverse hall is inscribed with the ten contracts, which Djefai-Hapi I made with the priests of the Wepwawet-temple and the Anubis-temple as well as with the workmen of the necropolis to guarantee his funerary cult (Fig. 1). The southeastern wall of the great transverse hall displays titles and epithets as well as a representation of Djefai-Hapi I in front of the names of King Senwosret I. The hall's ceiling (KAHL 2007: Pl. 8a) shows several different geometric patterns, some of them very similar to patterns from the Aegean. The second longitudinal passage is decorated with wall paintings which The Asyut Project detected in 2003 (EL-KHADRAGY 2007c). The innermost hall of the tomb houses a shrine, accessed by a small staircase and a double winged door (EL-KHADRAGY 2007b).

5.4. Second Intermediate Period

5.4.1 General information about Asyut

There is almost no information about Second Intermediate Period Asyut. Asyut seems to have once again marked the border line between a northern kingdom, ruled by the so called Hyksos, and scattered satellite states in the south. The find of Asyuti statues in Nubia may indicate looting of Asyut by the Hyksos or even by Kushite troops during the Second Intermediate Period (cf. KAHL 2007: 9-10).

5.4.2 Second Intermediate Period on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

5.4.2.1 Early fieldwork

There is no information about Second Intermediate Period finds from earlier excavations, maybe due to the fact that objects from this period are in general insufficiently recognized and identified.

5.4.2.2 Fieldwork of The Asyut Project

The Asyut Project has also not yet found architecture or objects from the Second Intermediate Period.

5.5. New Kingdom

5.5.1 General information about Asyut

Asyut accommodated several temples in the New Kingdom (those of Wepwawet, Anubis, Osiris, Hathor) and also the cults of Amun-Ra, Isis, Khnum(?), Ramesses Meryamun, the God in Asyut, and Djefai-Hapi (KAHL 2007: 35-58). The temple of the chief deity

Wepwawet was probably the most important and largest in Asyut. During the reign of King Ramesses III it was surrounded by a more than 15 meters high wall (pHarris I, 59,2). Today, the temple is buried about 8 meters under the modern city of Asyut (GABRA 1931; KAHL 2007: 39-48).

New Kingdom Asyut is well known in Egyptology because of the "overseers of the double granary of Upper and Lower Egypt", the exceptional high standard of an atelier of sculptors at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and the so called Salakhana Trove, a find of votive stelae and other objects.

The "overseers of the double granary of Upper and Lower Egypt" were the heads of the national grain administration and belonged to branches of a larger Asyuti family with close connections to the cult of Wepwawet (BOHLEKE 1993; KAHL 2007: 133-135). Statues and reliefs of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasty show a high cultural standard (HAYES 1959: 347-349; KAHL 2007: 153), some of them belong to the above mentioned high officials of the grain administration.

The Salakhana Trove comes from Tomb VII (the Salakhana Tomb, which owes its designation to its position behind the former slaughterhouse of Asyut) and presents a unique collection of votive stelae and other votive objects, which have a connection to the gods Wepwawet, Anubis, Osiris and Hathor. These objects are related to "popular religion" (DUQUESNE 2007; DUQUESNE 2009; BECKER 2007).

5.5.2 New Kingdom on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

5.5.2.1 Early fieldwork

Excavations from the beginning of the twentieth century did not focus on New Kingdom Asyut. The First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions and the Middle Kingdom evoked more interest, even if there were also tombs and burials of the New Kingdom excavated as the cult chamber of Amen-hotep proves, the representations of which are now scattered over four collections in Berlin, Zürich, Cleveland and Toledo/Ohio (cf. KAHL 2007: 97-99). For the position of the New Kingdom tombs in Gebel Asyut al-gharbi cf. WILD 1971.

5.5.2.2 Fieldwork of The Asyut Project

The Asyut Project found substantial and exceptional evidence of the New Kingdom on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi. Next to hundreds of mostly fragmented ushebtis in Tomb III, which seem to have been left there by the early excavators, also some ushebti finds point to a New Kingdom date of Tombs N12.3 and N12.4. In addition, pottery and relief fragments were found during the last eight seasons. The most spectacular find, however, were the visitors' graffiti in Tomb N13.1 from the beginning of the Eighteenth until the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (KAHL 2006; VERHOEVEN 2007: 85-87; KAHL/VERHOEVEN 2008; VERHOEVEN 2008; VERHOEVEN 2009). They do not only transmit literary texts, they also inform about temples and cults in New Kingdom Asyut (cf. the contribution of Ursula Verhoeven in this volume).

5.6 Third Intermediate Period

5.6.1 General information about Asyut

There is only scarce information about Third Intermediate Period Asyut, even if the city seems to have been part of a small kingdom. At least for the Twenty-fifth Dynasty a local ruler called Pa-di-Nemti is attested, who seems to have reigned over Asyut (WEILL 1950: 57-65; LEAHY 1999: 230-232; KAHL 2007: 136). During the Assyrian invasion into Egypt, a man called Sikhâ (Djed-Hor) ruled Asyut (ONASCH 1994: 36, 55, 118-119).

5.6.2 Third Intermediate Period on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

5.6.2.1 Early fieldwork

Early excavations brought some objects from the Third Intermediate Period to light, but they remained unpublished (e.g. ushebtis from Hogarth's excavation, which are now in the British Museum and will be published by Jan Moje). Not any single tomb of that period was attested by the early excavators.

5.6.2.2 Fieldwork of The Asyut Project

Third Intermediate Period objects, especially pottery and ushebtis, were found during the fieldwork conducted by The Asyut Project. These objects came from secondary interments and will give important information about regional styles during this period.

5.7 Late Period

5.7.1 General information about Asyut

Late Period Asyut housed temples to several cults and gods: Wepwawet, Anubis, Osiris, Hathor, Amun-Ra, Khonsu, Sakhmet, Neith, probably also Thoth (KAHL 2007: 35-58). Demotic papyri found in the Salakhana Tomb contain information on two Asyuti families and their priestly activities from the reign of King Amasis to the reign of King Cambyses (564-522 BCE; SOTTAS 1923: 34-46; SPIEGELBERG 1932: 39-52; SHORE 1988: 200-206; JOHNSON 1994: 113-132; KAHL 2007: 123-124).

A hoard of about 900 silver coins from Italy, Sicily, Macedonia, Thrace, Central Greece, Athens, Aegina, Corinth, the Greek Islands, Asia Minor, Caria, Sardes, Lycia, Cyprus and Cyrenaica attests connections with the Mediterranean. The hoard dates from the early fifth century BCE (PRICE/WAGGONER 1975).

5.7.2 Late Period on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

5.7.2.1 Early fieldwork

Wainwright discovered the above mentioned Demotic papyri in the Salakhana Tomb in 1922. Other early excavators also found objects from the Late Period (e.g. a statuette of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris from Hogarth's excavations [BM EA 47577: TAYLOR/STRUDWICK 2005:

78]), but did not publish them in an adequate way, if at all. PALANQUE 1903: 121 noticed tombs from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

5.7.2.2 Fieldwork of The Asyut Project

Finds from the Late Period, e.g. pottery and ushebtis, occurred in the nomarchs' tombs of the First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions. These tombs seem to have been used for later burials. One of these finds, a golden earring (S05/073) found in Tomb III, once more provides archaeological evidence for connections with the Mediterranean or with the Achaemenids during the Late Period (KAHL 2007: 117, Pl. 9a).

One Late Period tomb is in the focus of The Asyut Project's research: the so called Tomb of the Dogs (Pls. 34-35; KAHL 2009: 117-121; KITAGAWA 2009: 122-129; KAHL 2010: 198-199; KAHL/KITAGAWA 2010; KITAGAWA 2011). This gallery tomb probably houses hundreds of thousands of mummified animal remains, which were deposited here from Late Period to Roman Period. The most frequently identified animal species was dog, followed by cat (*Felis* sp.), fox, and jackal (KITAGAWA 2011). The sizes of the dogs vary from small to large; their age at death ranges from neonatal to senior. Some of the dogs showed pathologies such as several fractured and incompletely healed bones or *Spondylosis deformans* (KITAGAWA 2011). The documentation and statistical analysis of the canine remains currently (2010) comprises 2378 entries (NISP: number of identified specimens) from the Tomb of the Dogs area and an additional 3690 entries from Deir el-Meitin area nearby. The analyzed osteological material may so far provide the most extensive database of Ancient Egyptian canines at all.

5.8 Ptolemaic Period

5.8.1 General information about Asyut

During Ptolemaic Period Asyut belonged to the large administrative district of Thebes, the Thebais. Asyut, at that time called Lykopolis, marked the beginning of the Thebais. The region of Asyut was once again the scene of a civil war. The Theban rival King Ankh-Wennefer (200-186 BCE) led a revolt against the Ptolemaic sovereigns. His expansion to the north ended near Asyut. In the following years he suffered serious setbacks and was driven back to the Theban area.

Temples are attested to Wepwawet, Anubis, and Thot/Hermes, cults are reported for Hathor (called "mistress of 16"), Maat, Amun-Ra-Ope, Isis, Horus son of Isis and son of Osiris (KAHL 2007: 39-58).

An archive of Demotic papyri from 181-169 BCE informs about family affairs between 208 and 169 BCE (THOMPSON 1934; SHORE/SMITH 1959: 52-60; VLEEMING 1989: 31-45; KAHL 2007: 124-127). The central figure of the archive is the lector-priest Tef-Hape, who worked in the necropolis of Asyut during the first half of the second century BCE. The documents concern a trial about the inheritance of Tef-Hape's father Pe-te-tum. The principal document (Papyrus BM EA 10591) is 2.85 m long and 32 cm wide. It is the longest preserved antique protocol of a judicial hearing at all (HOFFMANN 2000: 91).

5.8.2 Ptolemaic Period on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

5.8.2.1 Early fieldwork

Early fieldwork produced some accidental finds of objects from the Ptolemaic Period, e.g. ushebtis.[4]

5.8.2.2 Fieldwork of The Asyut Project

Ptolemaic pottery and ushebtis were found in Tomb III and point to a reuse of that tomb during this period. Ostraca from the Ptolemaic Period come from the Tomb of the Dogs area.
For the Tomb of the Dogs cf. 5.7.2.2.

5.9 Roman to Byzantine Period

5.9.1 General information about Asyut

Temples are still attested to Wepwawet and Anubis, cults are attested to Serapis and Hathor (called "mistress of 16") (KAHL 2007: 39-58). Eventually, there were also cults installed for Ares (Onuris) and Apollo (Horus); this depends on the attribution of the census register Papyrus Oxyrhynchos 984 recto to Asyut or to Ptolemais. If one were to attribute the census register to Asyut, there would be more information about Asyut from 89/90 CE, for example personal names, indication of migration of people etc. (BAGNALL/FRIER/RUTHERFORD 1997; MONTEVECCHI 1998; SCHEIDEL 2001; CLARYSSE/THOMPSON 2006; cf. KAHL 2007: 128). In general, however, one can say that Asyut/Lykopolis is only sporadically attested in the papyrological documentation (MITTHOF 2001: I, 123).

A mythological manual from the second century CE found in Tebtynis records local myths, among others also from Asyut (OSING 1998b: 143-150). The manual reports about a temple, statues and an obelisk at Asyut. Charles Poncet observed the ruins of an ancient amphitheater and Roman mausolea in 1698 at Asyut (SAUNERON 1983: 90-94). Ägyptisches Museum Berlin houses two colossal statues which are reported to come from a temple at Asyut (FENDT 2009).

Roman Asyut is said to have been the hometown of the Graeco-Roman philosopher Plotinus (cf. CALDERINI 1922; MONTEVECCHI 2000).

Asyut was a center of Christianity in Byzantine Period (TIMM 1984: 235). Written sources provide information about Christian saints (well-known is John of Lykopolis, who lived in Gebel Asyut al-gharbi during the fourth century CE; cf. KAHL 2007: 138-140) and bishops (most famous are Melitius, bishop of Lykopolis/Asyut at the beginning of the fourth century CE, cf. KAHL 2007: 137-138; and Constantine, who was bishop of Asyut at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century CE, cf. KAHL 2007: 140) as well as about Coptic monasteries (cf. the general overview given by TIMM 1984).

4 Ushebtis from Hogarth's excavation were studied by Jan Moje and will be published within the series *The Asyut Project*.

5.9.2 Roman to Byzantine Period on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

5.9.2.1 Early fieldwork

Early twentieth century archaeologists found burials and objects from early Roman Period, but omitted to publish them (for some objects from Schiaparelli's excavations cf. now D'AMICONE/POZZI BATTAGLIA 2009a/2009b: 74-83).

The ruins of two Coptic monasteries were mentioned by early excavators: Deir el-Meitin (DE BOCK 1901: 91; CHASSINAT/PALANQUE 1911: 3, Pl. 1), situated on geological step 5 of the mountain, and Deir el-Azzam on the mountain plateau (MASPERO 1900: 109-119; DE BOCK 1901: 88-90; GROSSMANN 1991: 809-810). Each monastery was surrounded by a cemetery, and these cemeteries were unprofessionally excavated. The monasteries were not comprehensively recorded and suffered further damage during the twentieth century (KAHL 2007: 99-103). In addition to these monasteries, early archaeologists recorded some tombs from the Pharaonic Period, which were reused as dwellings by Christian anachoretes (CLÉDAT 1908: 213-223; KAHL 2007: 103-106).

5.9.2.2 Fieldwork of The Asyut Project

With the exception of the Tomb of the Dogs (cf. 5.7.2.2.) there are only some traces of early Roman Period activities on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi. Late Roman pottery, however, is widespread over the mountain and attests busy activities during fourth to seventh centuries CE.

The results of surveys at Deir el-Azzam (Pl. 37) and Deir el-Meitin (Pl. 36) point to activities at Deir el-Azzam from the fifth to the thirteenth century CE or even later (EICHNER/BECKH 2010: 207) and to activities at Deir el-Meitin beginning latest with the fifth to seventh century CE (EICHNER/BECKH 2010: 208).

Another survey enabled The Asyut Project to date the mud brick building E11.1 (Pl. 16), the northwestern-most building on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi, into the fourth/fifth to eighth century CE (EICHNER/BECKH 2010: 208).

Finally, at the mountain plateau Kom el-Shuqafa, a concentration of amphora from the first to the fifth century CE (EICHNER/BECKH 2010: 208) as well as the finding of pottery used for cooking and storage attest that Kom el-Shuqafa was settled at that time.

5.10 Islamic Period

5.10.1 General information about Asyut

Up until now Gebel Asyut al-gharbi has been used as a necropolis for people from Asyut. Thus, it reveals a quite unique continuity of usage over more than 4500 years from the Old Kingdom (probably already from the Early Dynastic Period) to present. The modern cemetery covers ancient tombs cut into the mountain. Also Islamic saints are venerated there, cf. e.g. the mausoleum of Sheikh Abu-Tug (Pl. 38) and the tomb of Bint Sheikh el-Arab (Fig. 2).

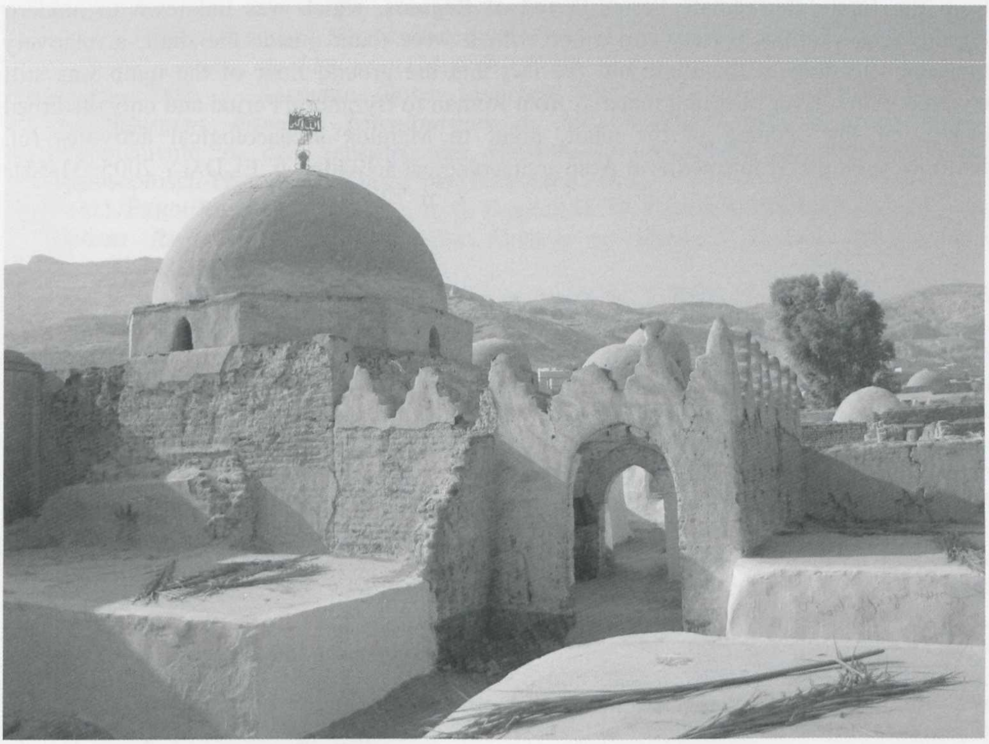


Fig. 2: The tomb of Bint Sheikh el-Arab (© Kahl 2010).

5.10.2 Islamic Period on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

5.10.2.1 Early fieldwork

There is no evidence of early fieldwork concerning the Islamic Period.

5.10.2.2 Fieldwork of The Asyut Project

Fieldwork of The Asyut Project revealed some ostraca and graffiti written in Arabic. Also two paintings showing a mihrab were found in Tomb N13.1 (KAHL/VERHOEVEN 2008: 68, Fig. 1), which gives evidence that the Eleventh Dynasty tomb changed its function from a pharaonic burial ground to a place of prayer in Islamic Period.

Numerous fragments of Mamluk glazed pottery were found in the tombs of the First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions and early Middle Kingdom nomarchs and attest that these tombs were either used as a dwelling or were at least visited during Islamic Period (YASIN 2008; cf. the contribution of Abd el-Naser Yasin in this volume). Glazed Islamic pottery was also found at Deir el-Azzam (EICHNER/BECKH 2010: 207).

In addition, there is some circumstantial evidence for archaeological activities on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi during the Mamluk Period: In Tomb V, The Asyut Project found a shaft

from the First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions, which was unknown to modern Egyptology. Mamluk pottery and a hoe, which were found inside the shaft, a relatively thorough cleaning of the shaft and the fact that the ground floor of the tomb was still covered with a layer of filling material from Roman to Byzantine Period and only disturbed exactly at the opening of the shaft, point to Mamluk archaeological activities (cf. KAHL/MALUR 2011; for medieval Arab archaeological activities cf. EL DALY 2005: 31-55).

References:

ASSMANN 1992: J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich 1992).

ASSMANN 2002: J. Assmann (unter Mitarbeit von Martin Bommas), *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band I: Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches* (Supplemente zu den Schriften der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 14, Heidelberg 2002).

BAGNALL/FRIER/RUTHERFORD 1997: R. S. Bagnall/B. W. Frier/I. C. Rutherford (eds.), *The Census Register P.Oxy. 984: The Reverse of Pindar's Paeans* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 29, Brussels 1997).

BECKER 2007: M. Becker, Popular Religion in Asyut, in: J. Kahl, *Ancient Asyut. The First Synthesis after 300 Years of Research* (The Asyut Project 1, Wiesbaden 2007) 141-149.

BIETAK 1985: M. Bietak, Zu den nubischen Bogenschützen aus Assiut: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ersten Zwischenzeit, in: P. Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* (Bibliothèque d'Étude 97/1, Cairo 1985) 87-97.

BIETAK 1994: M. Bietak (ed.), *Pharaonen und Fremde. Dynastien im Dunkel* (Vienna 1994).

BOHLEKE 1993: B. Bohleke, *The Overseers of Double Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Egyptian New Kingdom, 1570-1085 B.C.* (New Haven 1993).

BRUNNER 1937: H. Brunner, *Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut mit Übersetzungen und Erläuterungen* (Ägyptologische Forschungen 5, Glückstadt 1937).

CALDERINI 1922: A. Calderini, Nella Patria di Plotino, in: *Aegyptus. Rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia* 3, 1922, 255-274.

CHASSINAT/PALANQUE 1911: É. Chassinat/Ch. Palanque, *Une campagne des fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout* (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 24, Cairo 1911).

CHÉHAB 1969: M. Chéhab, Noms de personnalités égyptiennes découverts au Liban, in: *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 22, 1969, 1-47.

CLARYSSE/THOMPSON 2006: W. Clarysse/D. J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt* (Cambridge 2006).

CLÉDAT 1908: J. Clédat, Notes d'archéologie copte, in: *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 9, 1908, 213-230.

D'AMICONE/POZZI BATTAGLIA 2009a: E. D'Amicone/M. Pozzi Battaglia (eds.), *Egitto mai visto. La montagna dei morti: Assiut quattromila anni fa*. Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, monumenti e collezioni provincali, 30 maggio – 8 novembre 2009 (Trento: Castello del Buonconsiglio 2009).

D'AMICONE/POZZI BATTAGLIA 2009b: E. D'Amicone/M. Pozzi Battaglia (eds.), *Egitto mai visto. Le dimore eterne di Assiut e Gebelein*. Reggio Calabria, Villa Genoese Zerbi 21 febbraio – 20 giugno 2010 (Trento: Castello del Buonconsiglio 2009).

DAVIES 1995: W. V. Davies, Ancient Egyptian Timber Imports: An Analysis of Wooden Coffins in the British Museum, in: W. V. Davies/L. Schofield (eds.), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant. Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC* (London 1995) 146-156.

DE BOCK 1901: W. de Bock, *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte Chrétienne*. Édition posthume (St. Petersburg 1901).

DUNHAM 1937-1938: D. Dunham, An Egyptian Statuette of the Middle Kingdom, in: *Worcester Art Museum Annual* 3, 1937-1938, 9-16.

DUQUESNE 2007: T. DuQuesne, *Anubis, Upwawet, and Other Deities. Personal worship and official religion in ancient Egypt*. Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, March 2007 (Cairo 2007).

DuQuesne 2008: T. DuQuesne, The Great Goddess and her Companions in Middle Egypt: new findings on Hathor of Medjed and the local deities of Asyut, in: B. Rothöhler/A. Manisali (eds.), *Mythos & Ritual. Festschrift für Jan Assmann zum 70. Geburtstag* (Religionswissenschaft: Forschung und Wissenschaft 5, Berlin 2008) 1-26.

DuQuesne 2009: T. DuQuesne, The Salakhana Trove: Votive Steale and Other Objects from Asyut, in: *Oxfordshire Communications in Egyptology* 7, London 2009.

Eichner/Beckh 2010: I. Eichner/Th. Beckh, The late antique and medieval monuments of the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi, in: J. Kahl/M. El-Khadragy/U. Verhoeven et al., The Asyut Project: Seventh Season of Fieldwork (2009), in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 39, 2010, 207-210.

El Daly 2005: O. El Daly, *Egyptology: The Missing Millennium. Ancient Egypt in Medieval Arabic Writings* (London 2005).

El-Khadragy 2006a: M. El-Khadragy, The Northern Soldiers-Tomb at Asyut, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 35, 2006, 147-165.

El-Khadragy 2006b: M. El-Khadragy, New Discoveries in the Tomb of Khety II at Asyut, in: *The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 17, 2006, 79-95.

El-Khadragy 2007a: M. El-Khadragy, Some Significant Features in the Decoration of the Chapel of Iti-ibi-iqer at Asyut, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 36, 2007, 105-135.

El-Khadragy 2007b: M. El-Khadragy, The Shrine of the Rock-cut Chapel of Djefaihapi I at Asyut, in: *Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* 212, 2007, 41-62.

El-Khadragy 2007c: M. El-Khadragy, Fishing, Fowling and Animal-Handling in the Tomb of Djefaihapi I at Asyut, in: *The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 18, 2007, 125-144.

El-Khadragy 2008: M. El-Khadragy, The Decoration of the Rock-cut Chapel of Khety II at Asyut, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 37, 2008, 219-241.

El-Khadragy/Kahl 2004: M. El-Khadragy/J. Kahl, The First Intermediate Period Tombs at Asyut Revisited, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 32, 2004, 233-243.

Engel/Kahl 2009: E.-M. Engel/J. Kahl, Die Grabanlage Djefaihapis I. in Assiut: ein Rekonstruktionsversuch, in: J. Popielska-Grzybowska/O. Białostocka/J. Iwaszczuk (eds.), *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Young Egyptologists. Egypt 2004: Perspectives of Research. Warsaw 12-14 May 2004* (Acta Archaeologica Pultuskiensia 1, Pultusk 2009) 55-59.

Fauerbach 2006: U. Fauerbach, The map of the necropolis, in: J. Kahl/M. El-Khadragy/U. Verhoeven, The Asyut Project: Third season of fieldwork, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 34, 2006, 245.

Fendt 2009: A. Fendt, Helios und die Göttin. Zwei vergessene Kolossalstatuen aus dem römischen Ägypten in der Berliner Antikensammlung, in: *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen, Neue Folge* 51, 2009, 47-61.

Gabra 1931: S. Gabra, Un temple d'Aménophis IV à Assiout, in: *Chronique d'Égypte* 6, 1931, 237-243.

Gardiner 1957: A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (Oxford [3]1957).

Grébaut 1890-1900: E. Grébaut, *Le Musée Égyptien. Recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Égypte.* Tome premier (Cairo 1890-1900).

Griffith 1889a: F. Ll. Griffith, The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh, in: *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* 3, 1888-1889, 121-129, 164-168, 174-184, 244-252.

Griffith 1889b: F. Ll. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh* (London 1889).

Grossmann 1991: P. Grossmann, Dayr al-Izam, in: A. S. Atya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia* 3 (New York 1991) 809-810.

HAYES 1959: W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt. A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Part II: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675-1080 B.C.)* (New York 1959).

HELCK 1976: W. Helck, Ägyptische Statuen im Ausland – ein chronologisches Problem, in: *Ugarit Forschungen* 8, 1976, 101-115.

HÖLZL 2007: R. Hölzl, *Meisterwerke der Ägyptisch-Orientalischen Sammlung*, Kurzführer durch das Kunsthistorische Museum 6 (Vienna 2007).

HOFFMANN 2000: F. Hoffmann, *Ägypten. Kultur und Lebenswelt in griechisch-römischer Zeit. Eine Darstellung nach den demotischen Quellen* (Berlin 2000).

JACQUET-GORDON 1962: H. K. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire Égyptien* (Bibliothèque d'Étude 34, Cairo 1962).

JOHNSON 1994: J. H. Johnson, "Annuity Contracts" and Marriage, in: David P. Silverman (ed.), *For his Ka. Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 55, Chicago 1994) 113-132.

KAHL 1994: J. Kahl, SIS 380-418: Eine Textidentifizierung, in: *Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* 139, 1994, 41-42.

KAHL 1999: J. Kahl, *Siut – Theben. Zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im alten Ägypten* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 13, Leiden – Boston – Cologne 1999).

KAHL 2006: J. Kahl, Ein Zeugnis altägyptischer Schulausflüge, in: *Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* 211, 2006, 25-29.

KAHL 2007: J. Kahl, *Ancient Asyut. The First Synthesis after 300 Years of Research* (The Asyut Project 1, Wiesbaden 2007).

KAHL 2008: J. Kahl, Mapping Gebel Asyut al-gharbi, in: J. Kahl/M. El-Khadragy/U. Verhoeven, The Asyut Project: Fifth Season of Fieldwork (2007), in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 37, 2008, 199-200.

KAHL 2009: J. Kahl, Tomb of the Dogs, in: J. Kahl/M. El-Khadragy/U. Verhoeven et al., The Asyut Project: Sixth Season of Fieldwork (2008), in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 38, 2009, 117-121.

KAHL 2010: J. Kahl, Tomb of the Dogs, in: J. Kahl/M. El-Khadragy/U. Verhoeven et al., The Asyut Project: Seventh Season of Fieldwork (2009), in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 39, 2010, 198-199.

KAHL forthcoming: J. Kahl unter Mitarbeit von A. Herzberg, Proportionen und Stile in den assiutischen Nomarchengräbern der Ersten Zwischenzeit und des Mittleren Reiches, in: E. Frood/A. McDonald/R. Parkinson (eds.), *Festschrift*.

KAHL/EL-KHADRAGY/VERHOEVEN 2006: J. Kahl/M. El-Khadragy/U. Verhoeven, The Asyut Project: Third season of fieldwork, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 34, 2006, 241-249.

KAHL/KITAGAWA 2010: J. Kahl/Ch. Kitagawa, Ein wiederentdeckter Hundefriedhof in Assiut, in: *Sokar* 20, 2010, 77-81.

KAHL/MALUR 2011: J. Kahl/J. Malur, Tomb V, in: J. Kahl/M. El-Khadragy/U. Verhoeven et al., The Asyut Project: Eighth Season of Fieldwork (2010), in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 40, 2011 182-183.

KAHL/VERHOEVEN 2008: J. Kahl/U. Verhoeven, „Dornröschen" ist erwacht. Das neu entdeckte Grab N13.1 in Assiut, in: *Sokar* 16, 2008, 68-73.

KAMAL 1916: A. Bey Kamal, Fouilles à Deir Dronka et à Assiout (1913-1914), in: *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 16, 1916, 65-114.

KARIG 1968: J. S. Karig, Die Kultkammer des Amenhotep aus Deir Durunka, in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 95, 1968, 27-34.

KENDALL 1997: T. Kendall, *Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush, 2500-1500 B.C.: The Archaeological Discovery of an Ancient Nubian Empire* (Washington 1997).

KITAGAWA 2009: Ch. Kitagawa, The fauna materials from the surface survey in the central part of the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi, in: J. Kahl/M. El-Khadragy/U. Verhoeven et al., The Asyut Project: Sixth Season of Fieldwork (2008), in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 38, 2009, 122-129.

KITAGAWA 2011: Ch. Kitagawa, Animal remains, in: J. Kahl/M. El-Khadragy/U. Verhoeven et al., The Asyut Project: Eighth Season of Fieldwork (2010), in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 40, 2011, 197-198.

KLEMM/KLEMM 2006: R. Klemm/D. D. Klemm, *Geological Report (on occasion of a visit at Gebel Asyut in 2005)* (January 2006; unpublished).

KLEMM/KLEMM 2008: R. Klemm/D. D. Klemm, *Stones and Quarries in Ancient Egypt* (London 2008).

KUENTZ 1934: Ch. Kuentz, Remarques sur les statues de Harwa, in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 34, 1934, 143-163.

KUHLMANN/SCHENKEL 1983: K. P. Kuhlmann/W. Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi, Obergutsverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 36). Band 1: Beschreibung der unterirdischen Kult- und Bestattungsanlage* (Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 15, Mainz 1983).

LEAHY 1999: A. Leahy, More fragments of the Book of the Dead of Padinemty, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 85, 1999, 230-232.

MAGEE 1988: D. Magee, *Asyût to the End of the Middle Kingdom: A Historical and Cultural Study* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Oxford 1988).

MASPERO 1900: G. Maspero, Les fouilles de Deir el Aizam (Septembre 1897), in: *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 1, 1900, 109-119.

MCGING 1997: B. C. McGing, Revolt Egyptian Style. Internal Opposition to Ptolemaic Rule, in: *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 43, 1997, 273-314.

MITTHOF 2001: F. Mitthof, *Annona Militaris. Die Heeresversorgung im spätantiken Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Verwaltungs- und Heeresgeschichte des Römischen Reiches im 3. bis 6. Jh. n. Chr.*, 2 vols. (Papyrologica Florentina 31, Florence 2001).

MONTET 1928: P. Montet, Les tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rifeh, in: *Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes* 1, 1928, 53-68.

MONTET 1930-35: P. Montet, Les tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rifeh (suite), in: *Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes* 3, 1930-35, 45-111.

MONTET 1936: P. Montet, Les tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rifeh (troisième article), in: *Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes* 6, 1936, 131-163.

MONTEVECCHI 1998: O. Montevecchi, La provenienza di P. Oxy. 984, in: *Aegyptus. Rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia* 78, 1998, 49-76.

MONTEVECCHI 2000: O. Montevecchi, Ritorniamo a Licopoli e a Plotino, in: *Aegyptus. Rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia* 80, 2000, 139-143.

MORENZ 2010: L. Morenz, *Die Zeit der Regionen im Spiegel der Gebelein-Region. Kulturgeschichtliche Re-Konstruktionen* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 27, Leiden – Boston 2010).

ONASCH 1994: H.-U. Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens. Teil 1: Kommentare und Anmerkungen* (Ägypten und Altes Testament 27/1, Wiesbaden 1994).

OSING 1976: J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* (Mainz 1976).

OSING 1998a: J. Osing, PSI inv. I 3 + pCarlsberg 305 + pTebt. Tait Add. 2 e PSI inv. I 4 + pCarlsberg 306 + pTebt. Tait Add. 3. Copie delle iscrizioni nelle tombe di Assiut, in: J. Osing/G. Rosati (eds.), *Papiri geroglifici e ieratici da Tebtynis* (Florence 1998) 55-100.

OSING 1998b: J. Osing, PSI inv. I 72: Manuale mitologico per i nòmi VII – XVI dell'Alto Egitto, in: J. Osing/G. Rosati (eds.), *Papiri geroglifici e ieratici da Tebtynis* (Florence 1998) 129-188.

PALANQUE 1903: Ch. Palanque, Notes de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout, in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 3, 1903, 119-128.

PANCKOUCKE 1822: C. L. F. Panckoucke, *Description de l'Égypte ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*. Ant. IV, Seconde édition (Paris 1822).

PORTER/MOSS 1934: B. Porter/R. L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. IV. Lower and Middle Egypt* (Oxford 1934).

PRELL 2011: S. Prell, The Tomb of the Dogs Area, in: J. Kahl/M. El-Khadragy/U. Verhoeven et al., The Asyut Project: Eighth Season of Fieldwork (2010), in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 40, 2011, 194-197.

PRICE/WAGGONER 1975: M. Price/N. Waggoner, *Archaic Greek Coinage. The Asyut Hoard* (London 1975).

REISNER 1931: G. A. Reisner, Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal, in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 66, 1931, 76-100.

RYAN 1988: D. P. Ryan, *The Archaeological Excavations of David George Hogarth at Asyut, Egypt* (Cincinnati 1988).

RZEUSKA 2011: T. Rzeuska, Pharaonic Pottery, Asyut 2010, in: J. Kahl/M. El-Khadragy/U. Verhoeven et al., The Asyut Project: Eighth Season of Fieldwork, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 40, 2011, 199-209.

SAUNERON 1983: S. Sauneron, *Villes et légendes d'Égypte* (Bibliothèque d'Étude 90, Cairo [2]1983).

SCHEIDEL 2001: W. Scheidel, (Review) Bagnall/Frier/Rutherford, The Census Register P. Oxy. 984: The Reverse of Pindar's Paeans (Brussels 1997), in: *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 38, 2001, 147-151.

SCHENKEL 1965: W. Schenkel, *Memphis – Herakleopolis – Theben. Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.-11. Dynastie Ägyptens* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 12, Wiesbaden 1965).

SCHENKEL 1978: W. Schenkel, *Die Bewässerungsrevolution im Alten Ägypten* (Mainz 1978).

SHORE 1988: A. F. Shore, Swapping Property at Asyut in the Persian Period, in: J. Baines/T. G. H. James/A. Leahy/A. F. Shore (eds.), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I.E.S. Edwards* (The Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publications 7, London 1988) 200-206.

SHORE/SMITH 1959: A. F. Shore/H. S. Smith, Two Unpublished Demotic Documents from the Asyut Archive, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 45, 1959, 52-60.

SMITH 1957: W. S. Smith, A Painting in the Assiut Tomb of Hepzefa, in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 15, 1957, 221-224.

SOTTAS 1923: H. Sottas, Sur quelques papyrus démotiques provenant d'Assiout, in: *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 23, 1923, 34-46.

SPANEL 1989: D. B. Spanel, The Herakleopolitan Tombs of Kheti I, *Jt(.j)jb(.j)*, and Kheti II at Asyut, in: *Orientalia* 58, 1989, 301-314.

SPIEGELBERG 1932: W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler. III. Demotische Inschriften und Papyri (CG 50023-50165)* (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Berlin 1932).

SUSSER/SCHNEIDER 2003: I. Susser/J. Schneider, Wounded Cities: Deconstruction and Reconstruction in a Globalized World, in: J. Schneider/I. Susser (eds.), *Wounded Cities. Destruction and Reconstruction in a Globalized World* (Oxford – New York 2003) 1-23.

TAYLOR/STRUDWICK 2005: J. H. Taylor/N. C. Strudwick, *Mummies. Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt. Treasures from The British Museum presented by The Bowers Museum of Cultural Art* (Santa Ana, California 2005).

THOMPSON 1934: H. Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut from Papyri in the British Museum* (Oxford 1934).

TIMM 1984: S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit. Teil 1 (A-C)* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften) 41/1, Wiesbaden 1984).

VALBELLE 1998: D. Valbelle, The Cultural Significance of Iconographic and Epigraphic Data Found in the Kingdom of Kerma, in: T. Kendall (ed.), *Nubian Studies 1998. Proceedings of the Ninth Conference of the International Society of Nubian Studies, August 21-26, 1998, Boston, Massachusetts* (Boston 2004) 176-183.

VEÏSSE 2004: A.-E. Veïsse, *Les « révoltes égyptiennes ». Recherches sur les troubles intérieurs en Égypte du règne de Ptolémée III à la conquète romaine* (Studia Hellenistica 41, Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA 2004).

VERHOEVEN 2007: U. Verhoeven, Graffiti from the New Kingdom in Tomb N13.1, in: J. Kahl/M. El-Khadragy/U. Verhoeven, The Asyut Project: Fourth Season of Fieldwork (2006), in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 36, 2007, 85-87.

VERHOEVEN 2008: U. Verhoeven, Tomb N13.1: graffiti, in: J. Kahl/M. El-Khadragy/U. Verhoeven, The Asyut Project: Fifth Season of Fieldwork (2007), in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 37, 2008, 201-204.

VERHOEVEN 2009: U. Verhoeven, Die wie Kraniche balzen: Männerphantasien zur Zeit Amenhoteps III. in Assiut, in: D. Kessler/R. Schulz/M. Ullmann et al. (eds.), *Texte – Theben – Tonfragmente. Festschrift für Günter Burkard* (Ägypten und Altes Testament 76, Wiesbaden 2009) 434-441.

VERHOEVEN 2011: U. Verhoeven, Tomb P13.1, in: J. Kahl/M. El-Khadragy/U. Verhoeven et al., The Asyut Project: Eighth Season of Fieldwork (2010), in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 40, 2011, 186-191.

VERHOEVEN forthcoming: U. Verhoeven, "Der lebt nach dem Tod". Orthographisches und Biographisches in den Inschriftenfragmenten der Grabanlage M10.1 in Assiut, in: H.-W. Fischer-Elfert/R. B. Parkinson (eds.), *Middle Kingdom Studies in Memory of Detlef Franke* (Philippika, Marburg, in press).

VLEEMING 1989: S. P. Vleeming, Strijd om het erfdeel van Tefhapi, in: P. W. Pestman (ed.), *Familiearchieven uit het land van Pharao* (Zutphen 1989) 31-45.

WEILL 1950: R. Weill, Un nouveau pharaon de l'époque tardive en Moyenne Égypte et l'Horus de Deir el-Gebrâwi (XIIe nome), in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 49, 1950, 57-65.

WILD 1971: H. Wild, Note concernant des antiquités trouvées, non à Deir Dronka, mais dans la nécropole d'Assiout, in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 69, 1971, 307-309.

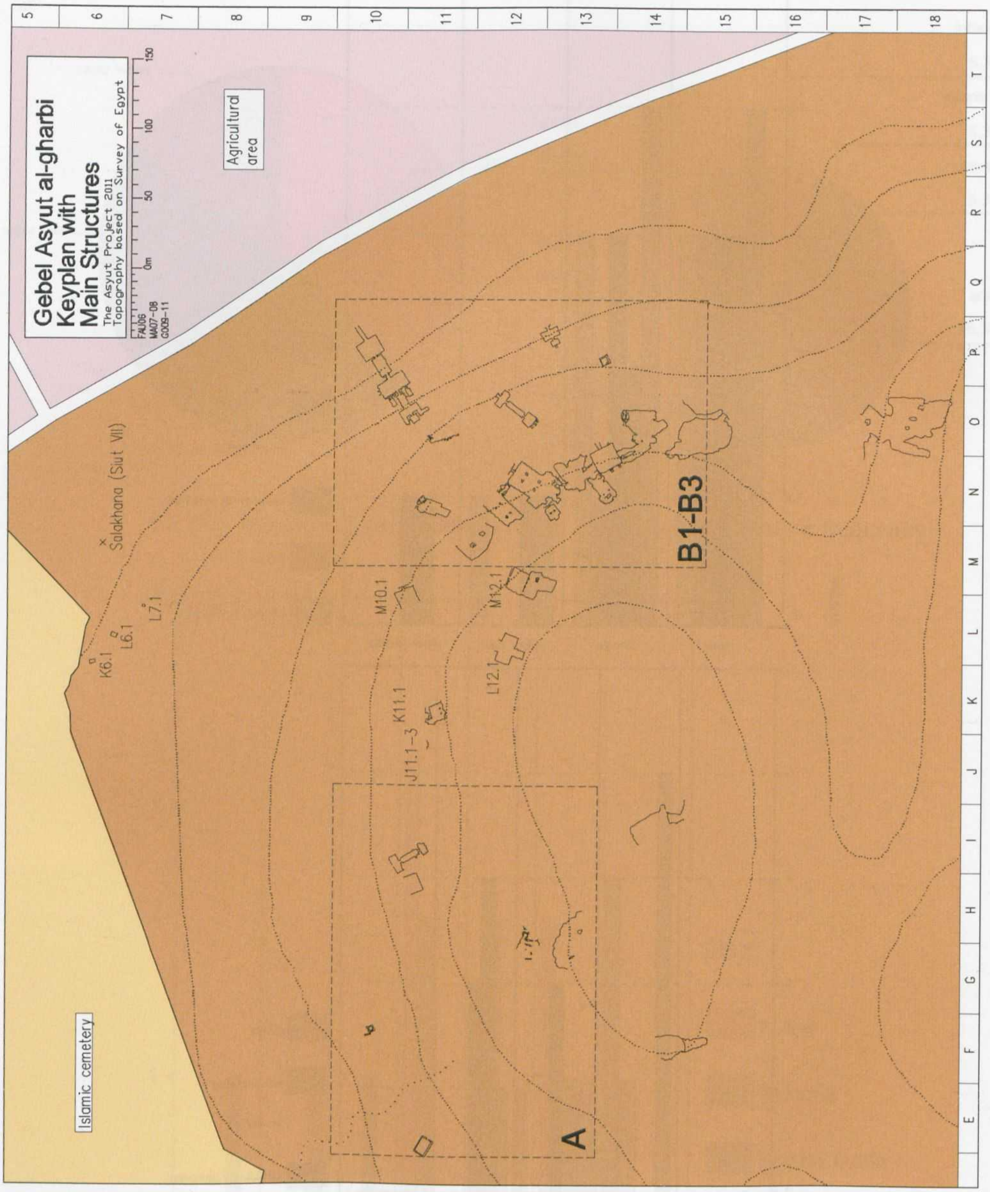
WILDUNG 1984: D. Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet. Ägypten im Mittleren Reich* (Darmstadt 1984).

WILKINSON 1843: G. Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes: being a description of Egypt; including the information required for travellers in that country* II (London 1843).

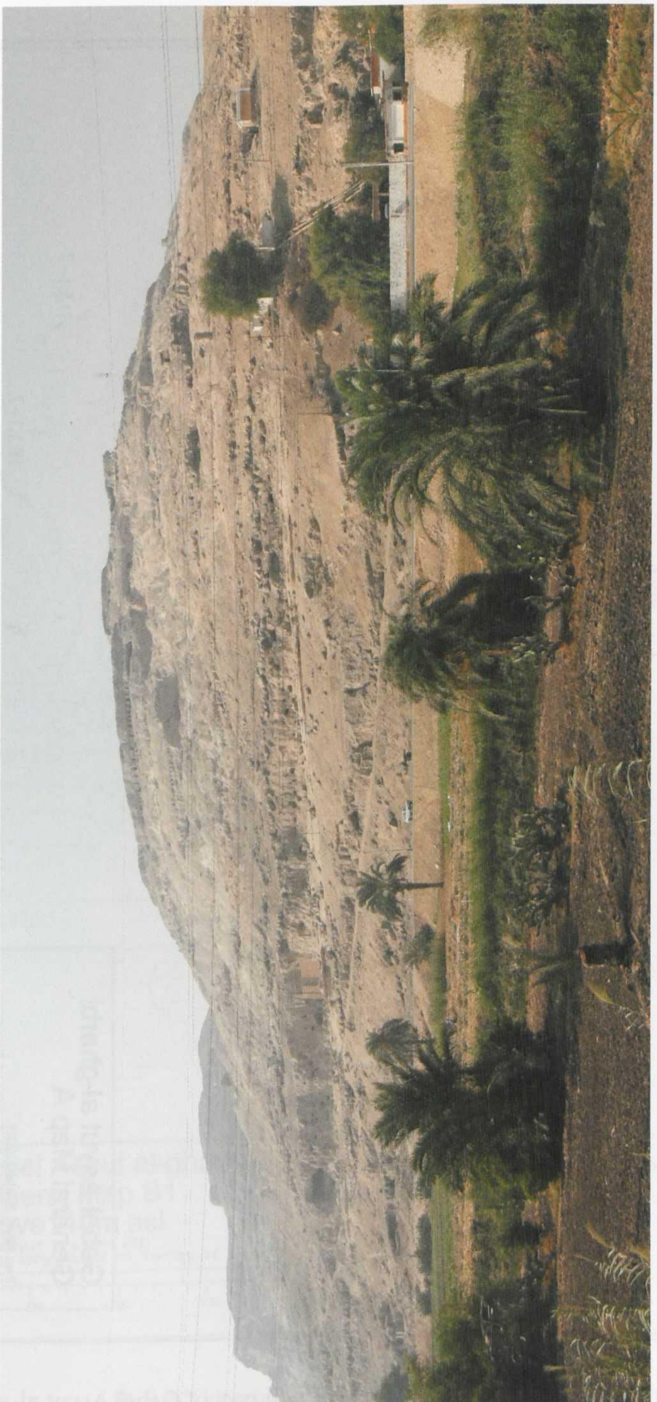
WOLF 1957: W. Wolf, *Die Kunst Aegyptens: Gestalt und Geschichte* (Stuttgart 1957).

YASIN 2008: Abd El-Naser Yasin, Islamic Pottery Findings, in: J. Kahl/M. El-Khadragy/U. Verhoeven, The Asyut Project: Fifth Season of Fieldwork (2007), in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 37, 2008, 206-207.

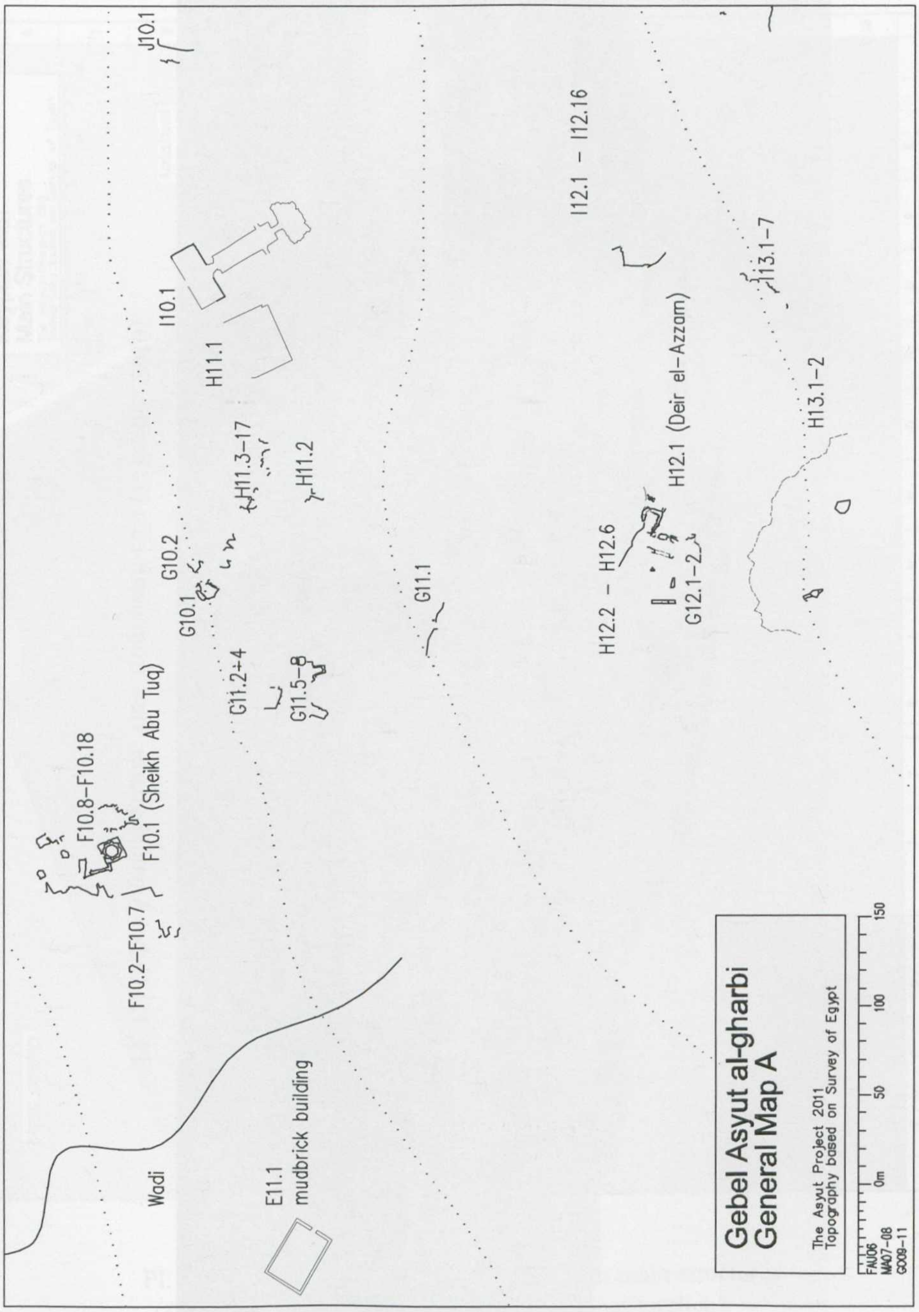
ZITMAN 2010: M. Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut. A Case Study of Local Egyptian Funerary Culture from the Old Kingdom to the End of the Middle Kingdom* I-II (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 180, Leuven 2010).



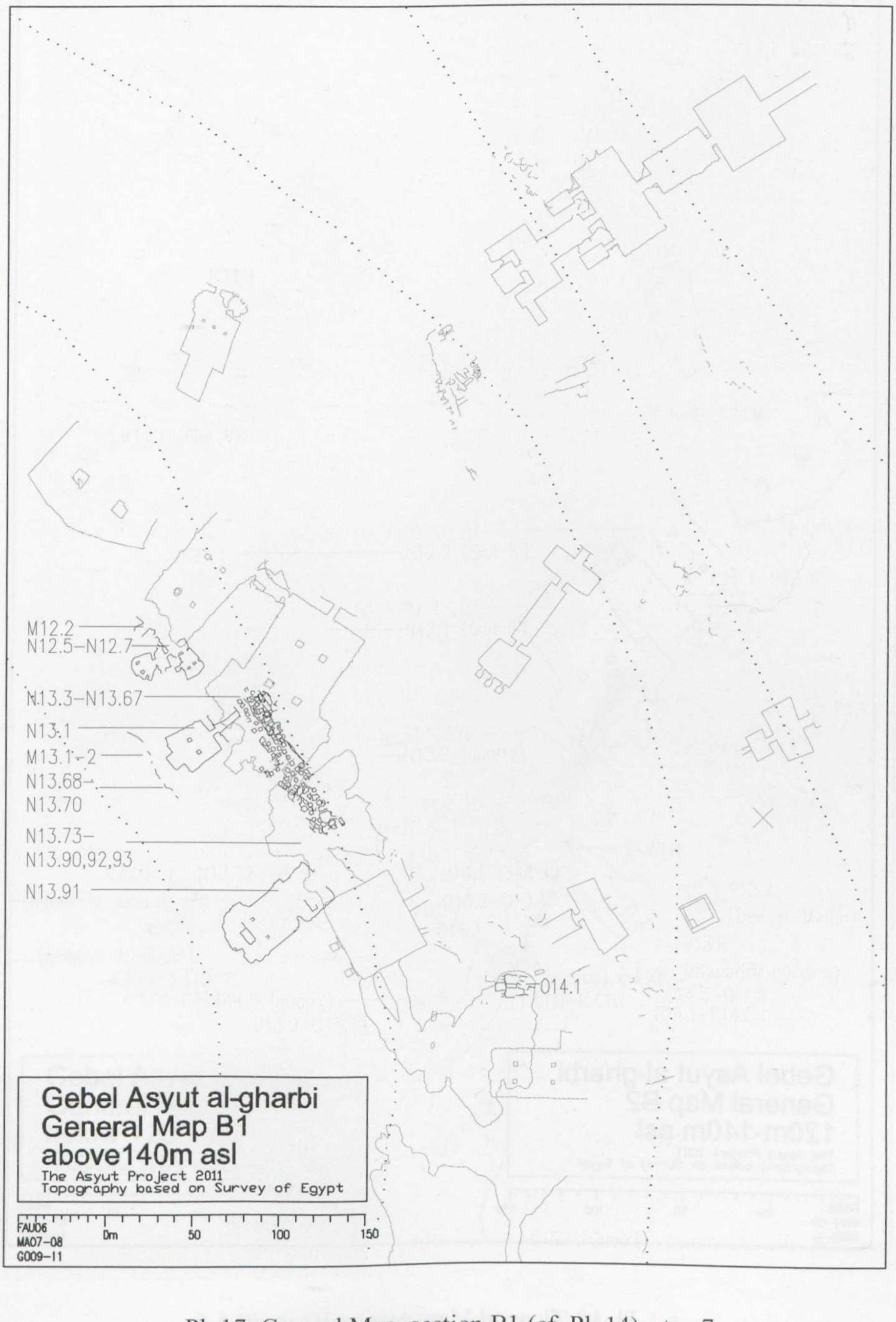
Pl. 14: Gebel Asyut al-gharbi, keyplan with main structures
(© The Asyut Project; Fauerbach/Maschke/Goerlich).



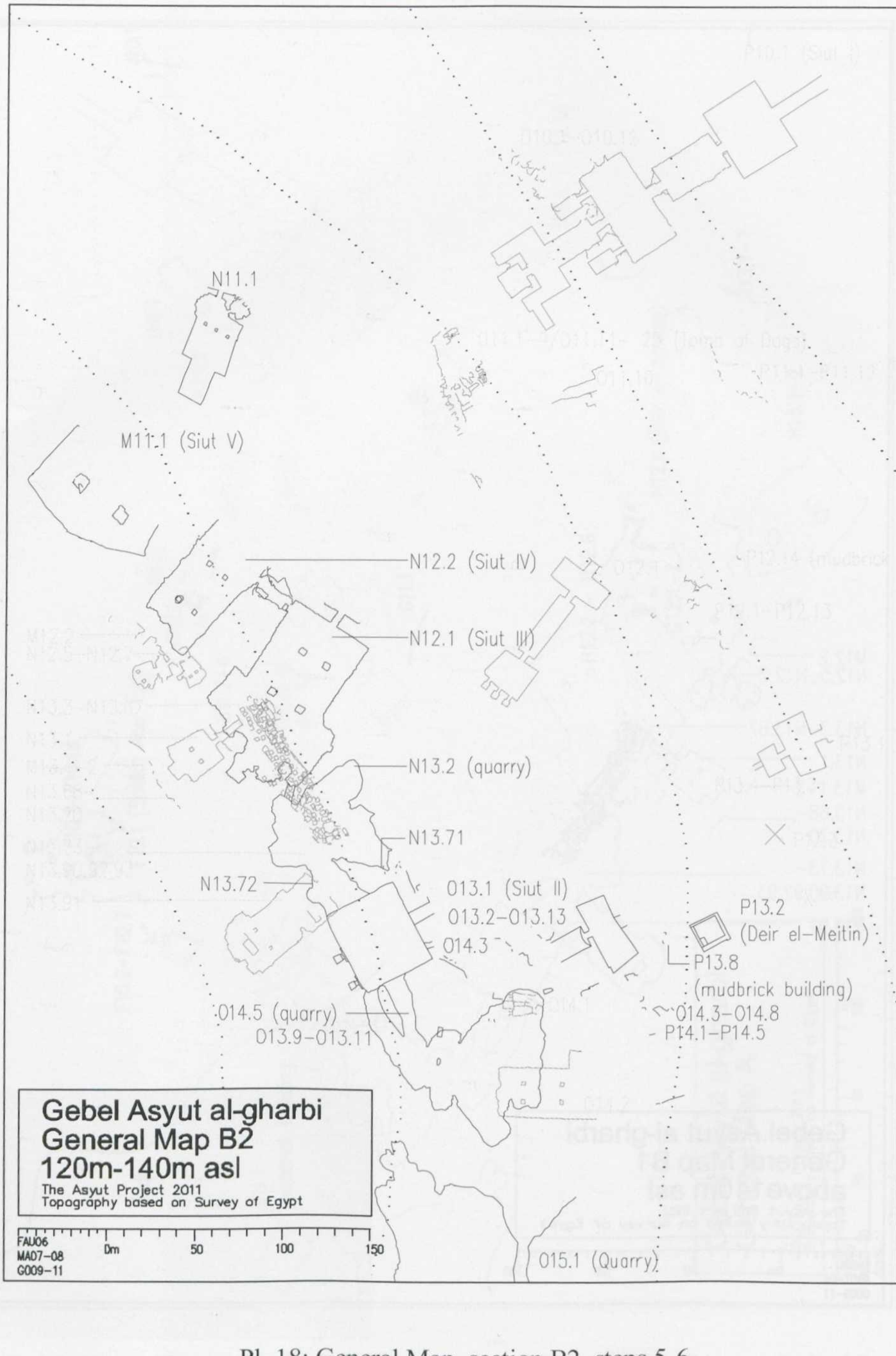
Pl. 15: Gebel Asyut al-gharbi, view from north-east (© Barthel 2010).



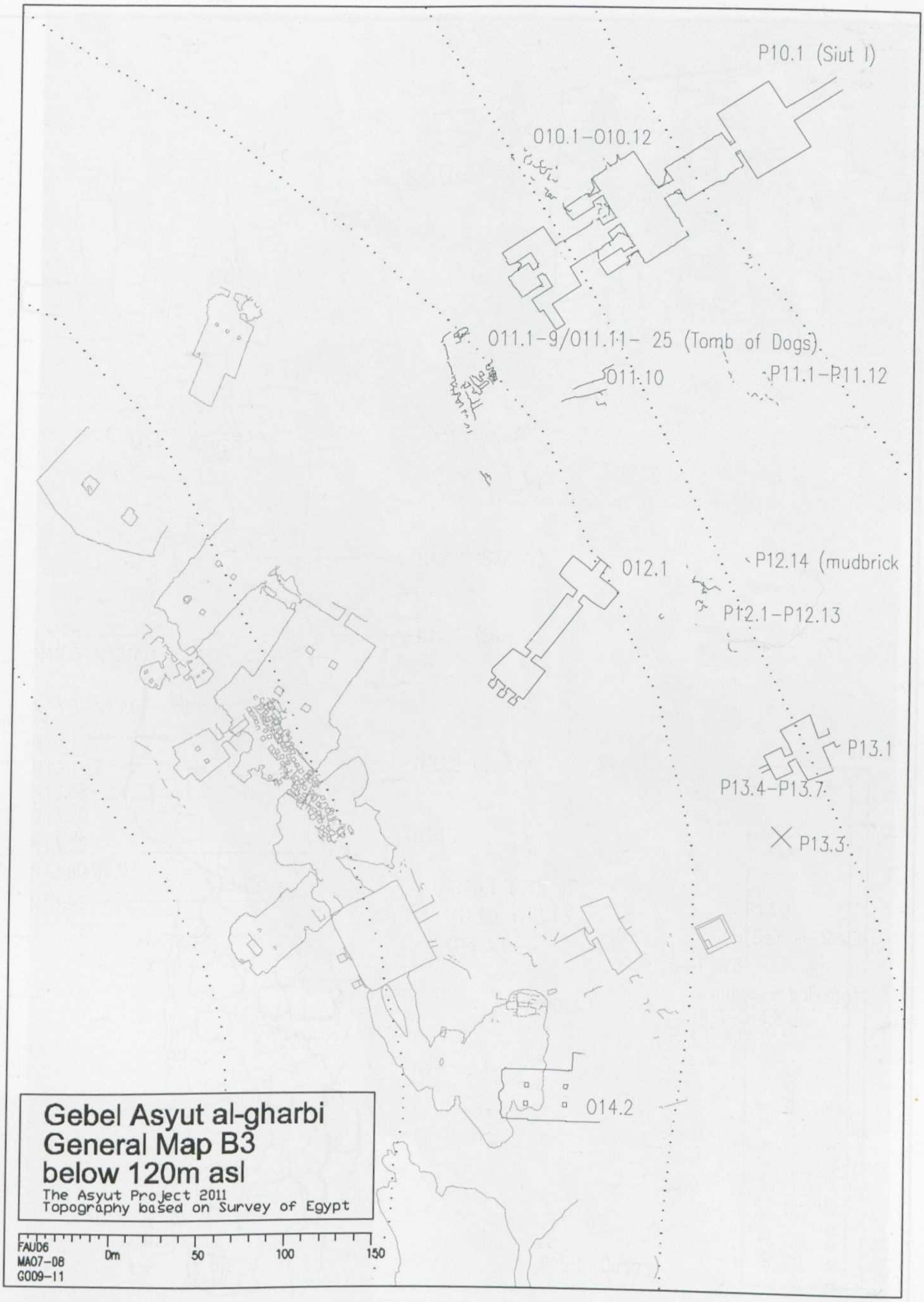
Pl. 16: General Map, section A (cf. Pl. 14), western part of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi.



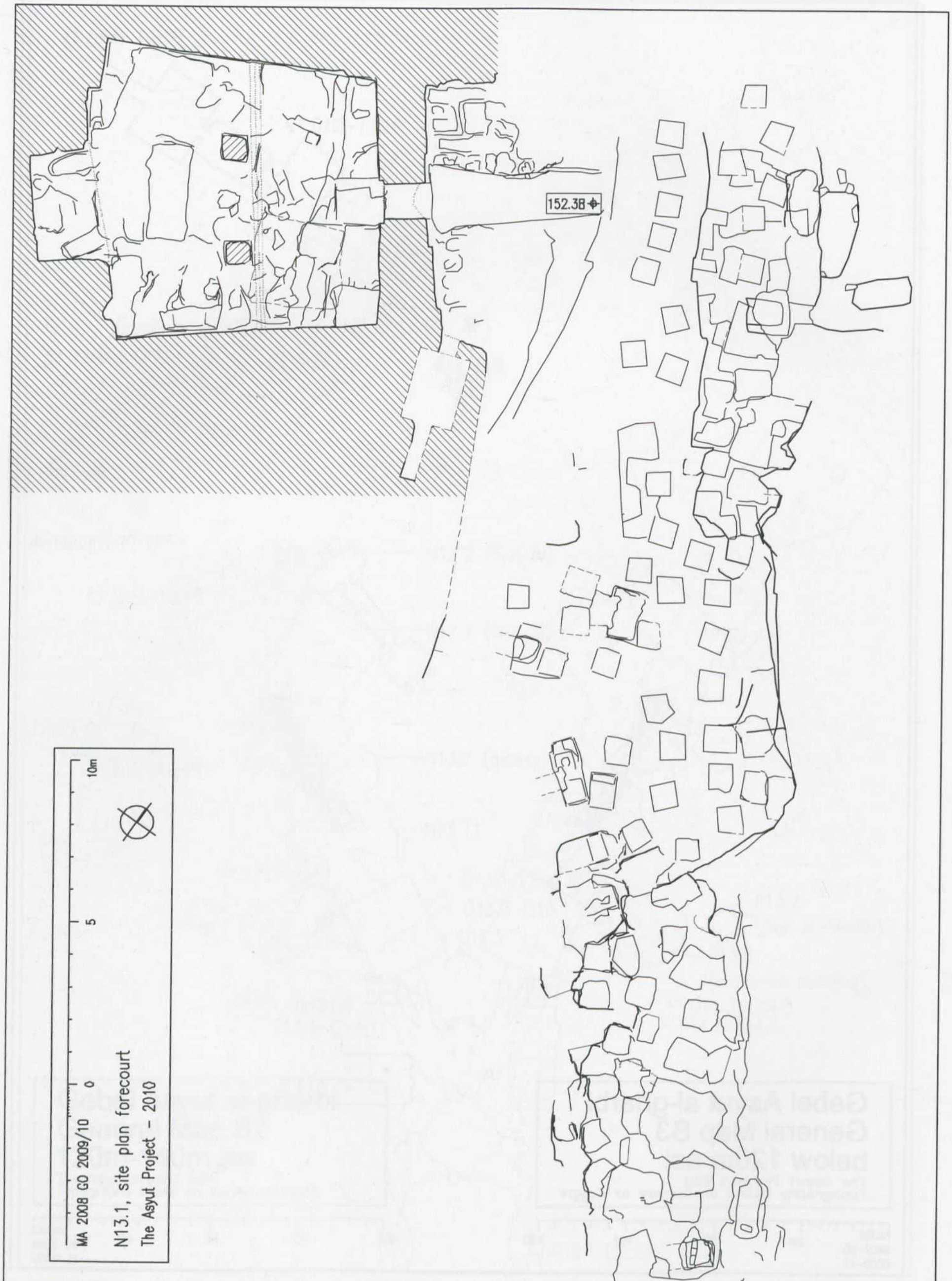
Pl. 17: General Map, section B1 (cf. Pl. 14), step 7.



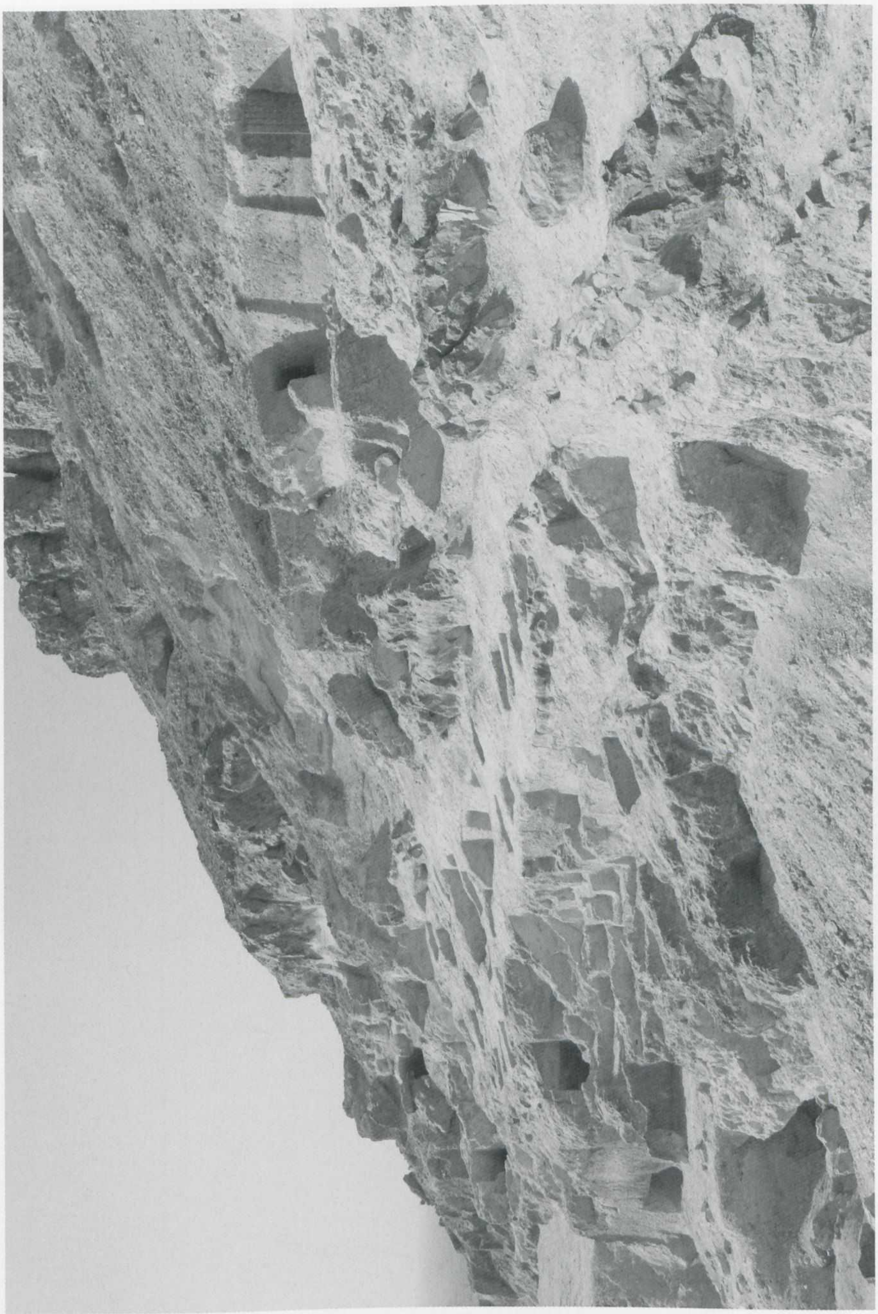
Pl. 18: General Map, section B2, steps 5-6.



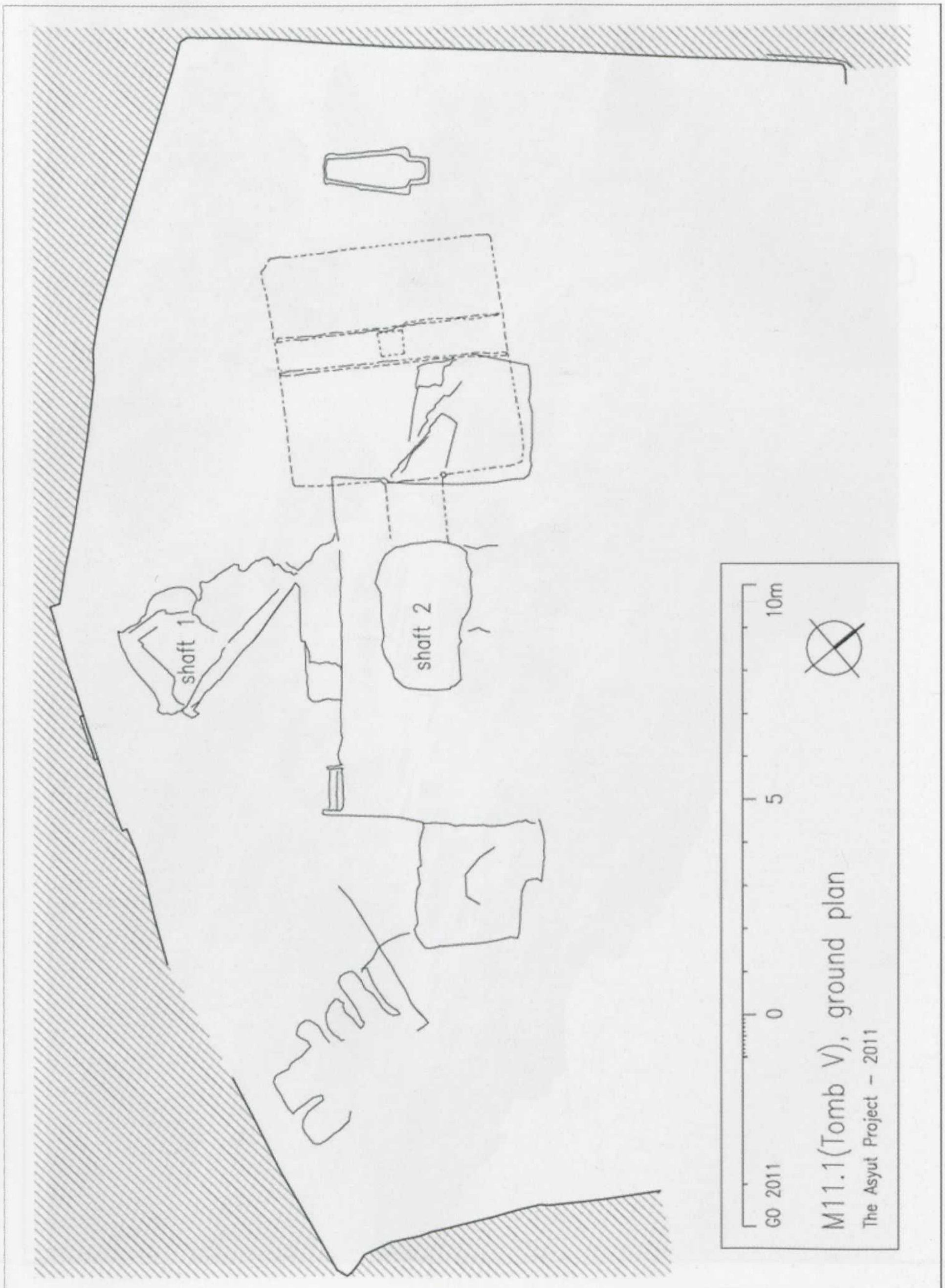
Pl. 19: General Map, section B3, steps 2-4.



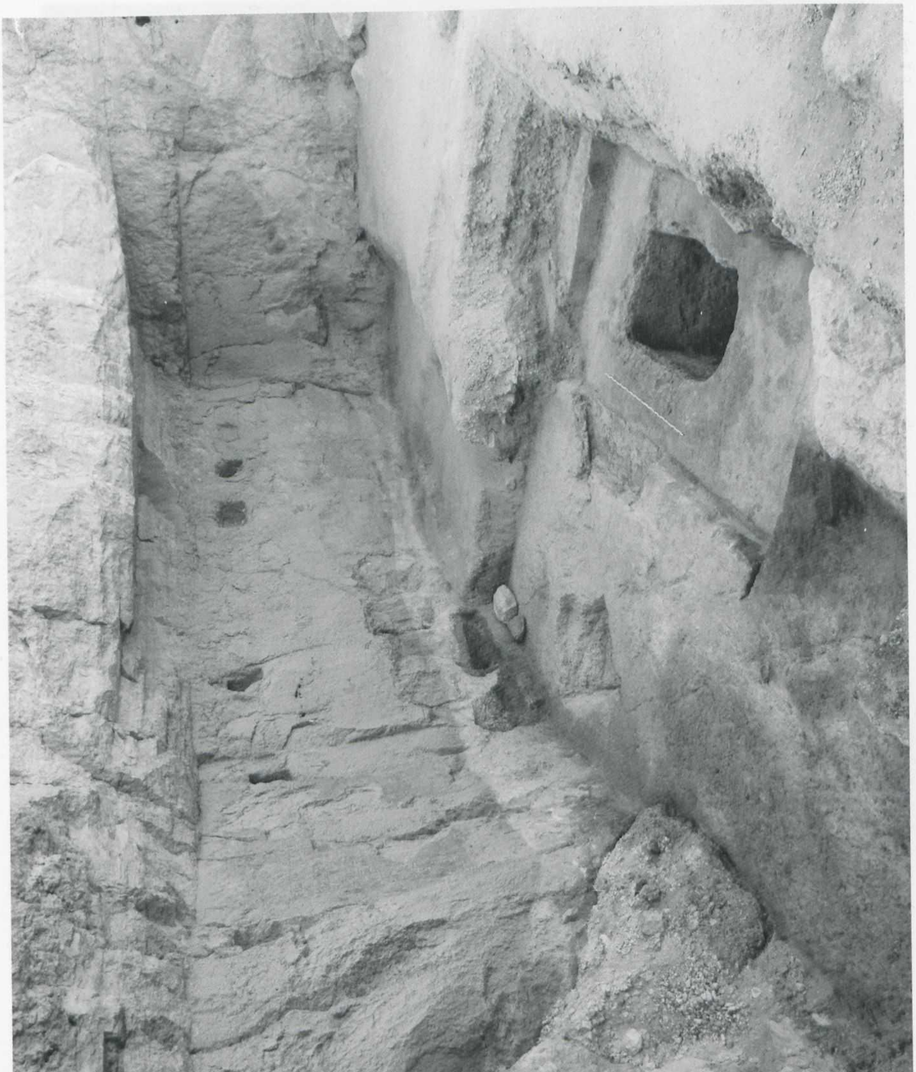
Pl. 20: Shaft tombs on step 7, east of Tomb N13.1.



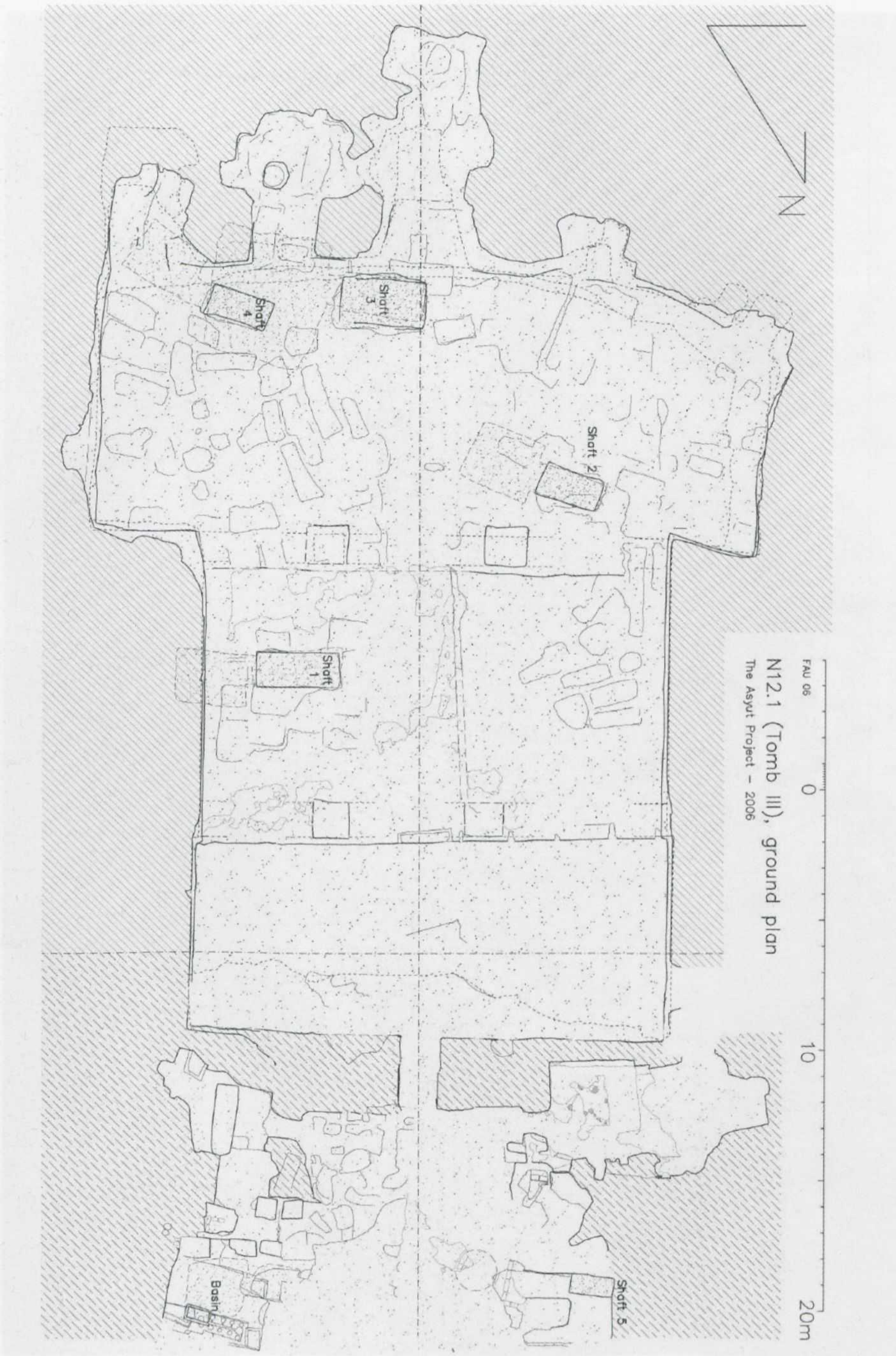
Pl. 21: Shaft tombs on step 7, view from north (© Barthel 2010).



Pl. 22: Tomb M11.1 (Tomb V), ground plan (© The Asyut Project; Goerlich 2011).



Pl. 23: Tomb M11.1 (Tomb V), inner hall with two shafts (© Barthel 2010).



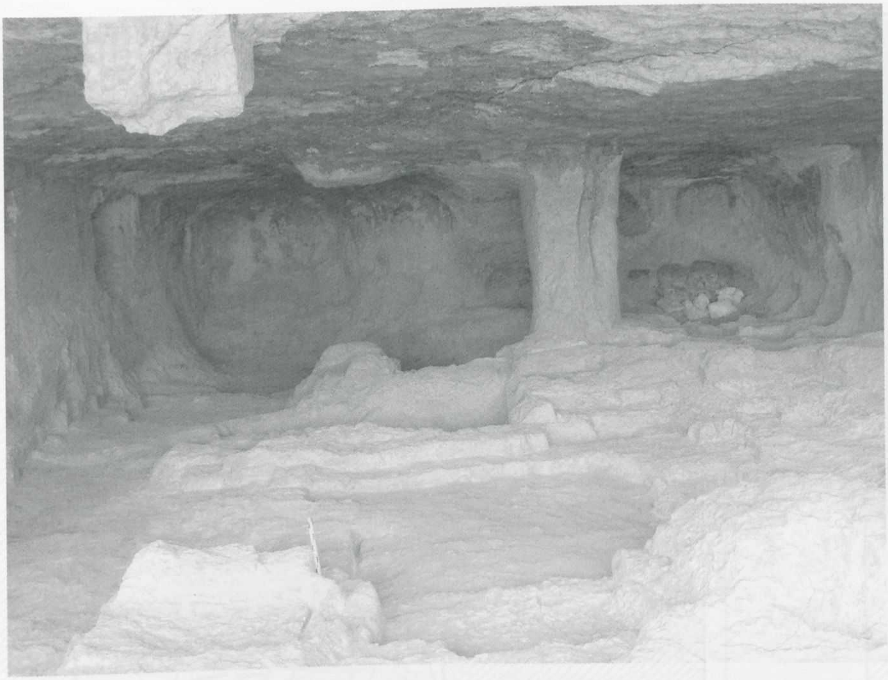
Pl. 24: Tomb N12.1 (Tomb III), ground plan (© The Asyut Project; Fauerbach 2006).



Pl. 25: Tomb N12.1 (Tomb III), view from the entrance area (The Asyut Project 2006).



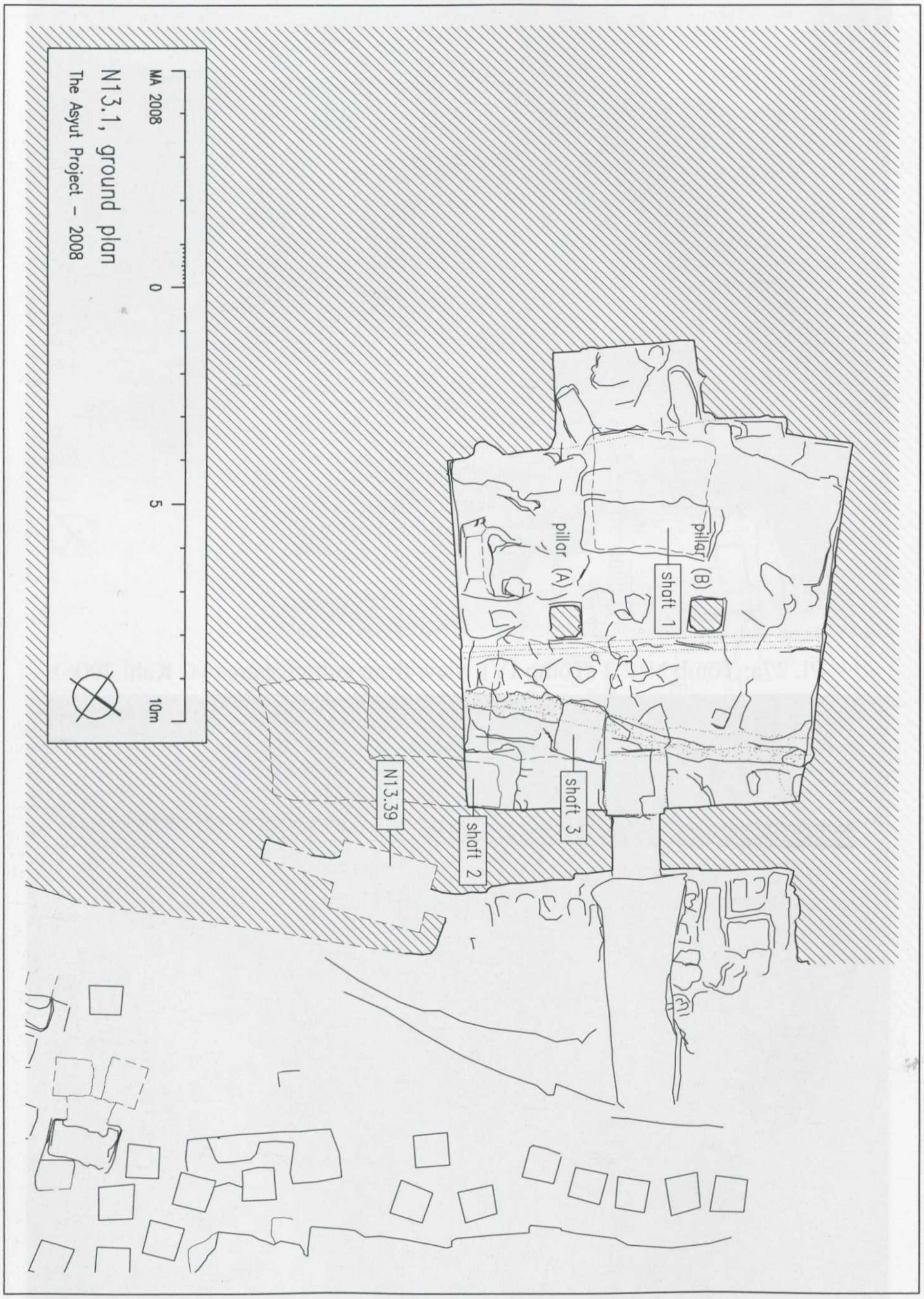
Pl. 26: Tomb N12.2 (Tomb IV), ground plan (© The Asyut Project; Maschke 2009).



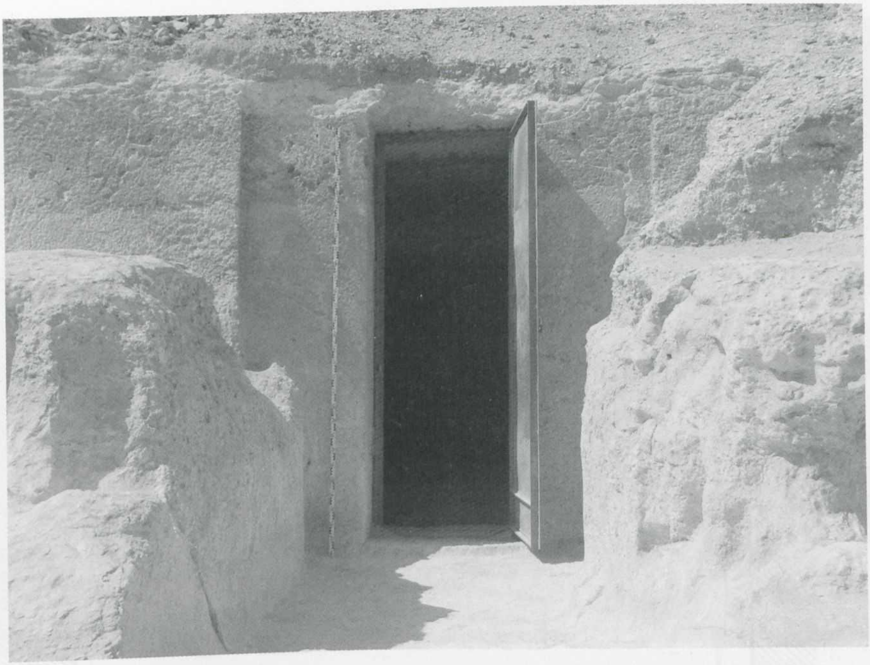
Pl. 27a: Tomb N12.2 (Tomb IV), view from entrance area (© Kahl 2006).



Pl. 27b: Tomb N12.2 (Tomb IV), northern wall (© Kahl 2006).



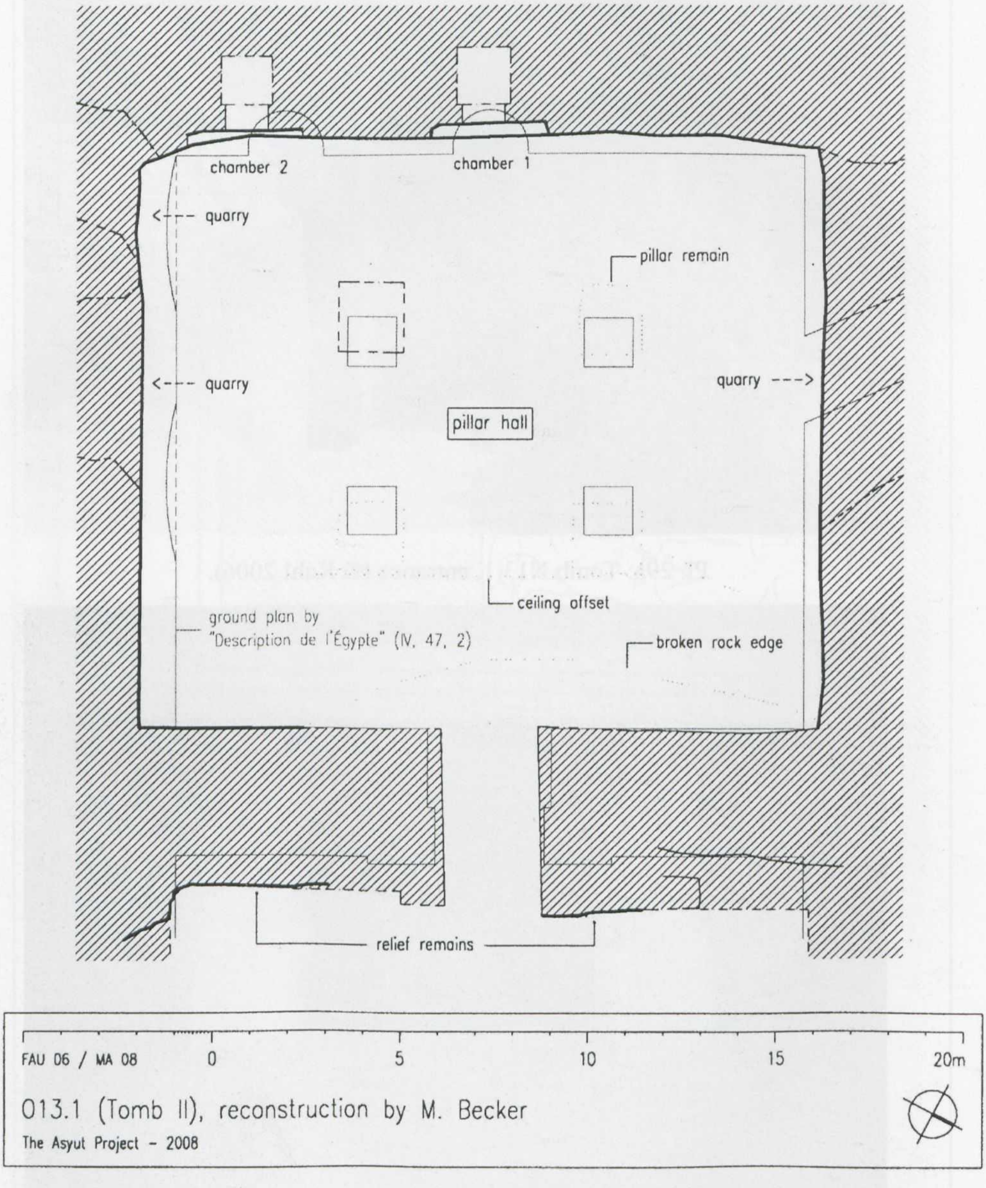
Pl. 28: Tomb N13.1, ground plan (© The Asyut Project; Maschke 2008).



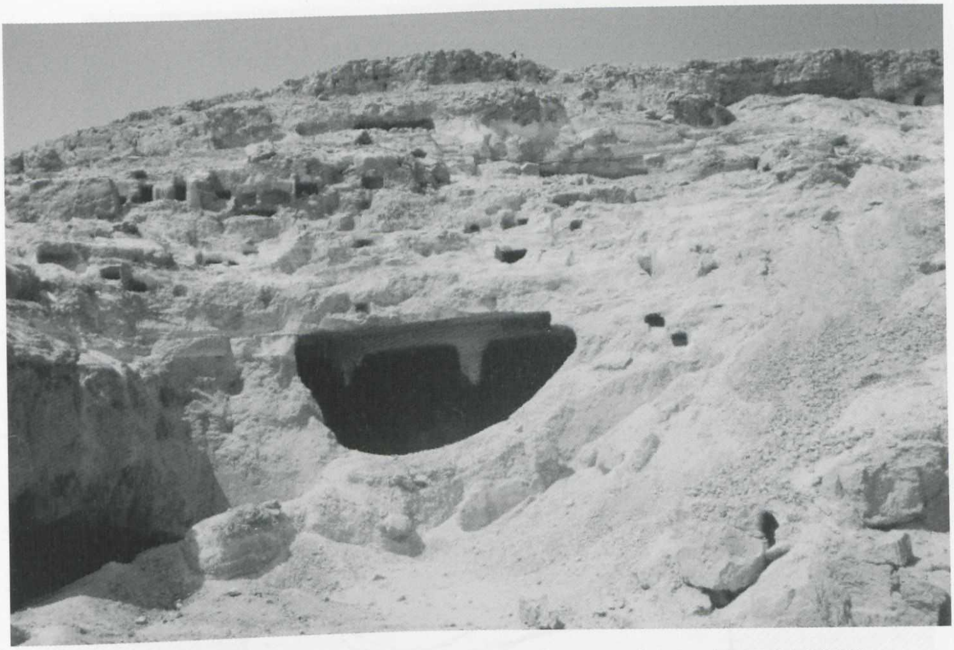
Pl. 29a: Tomb N13.1, entrance (© Kahl 2006).



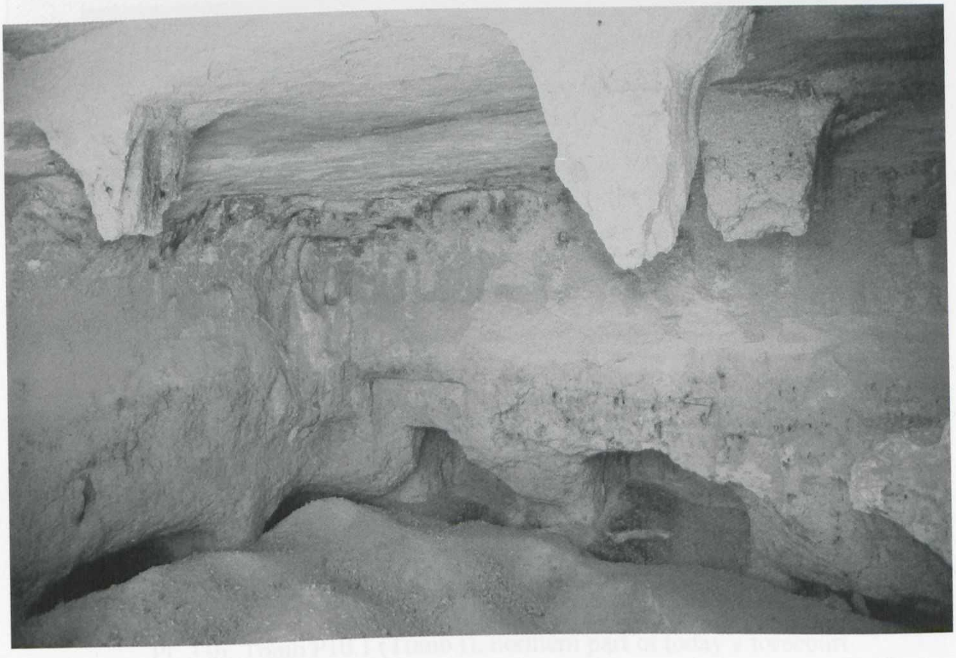
Pl. 29b: Tomb N13.1, view from the entrance (© Barthel 2007).



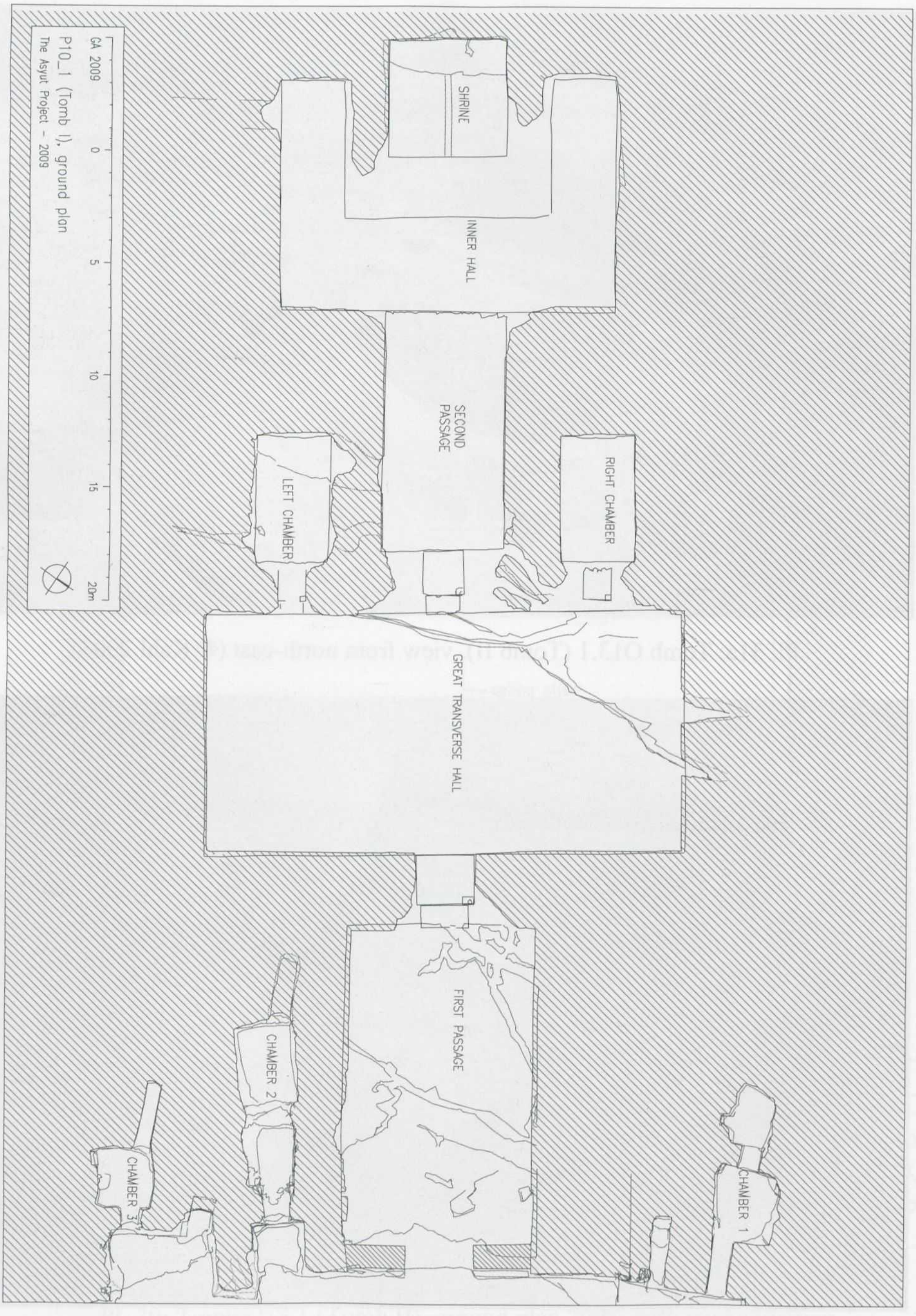
Pl. 30: Tomb O13.1 (Tomb II), ground plan 2008, with reconstruction (© The Asyut Project; Fauerbach/Maschke).



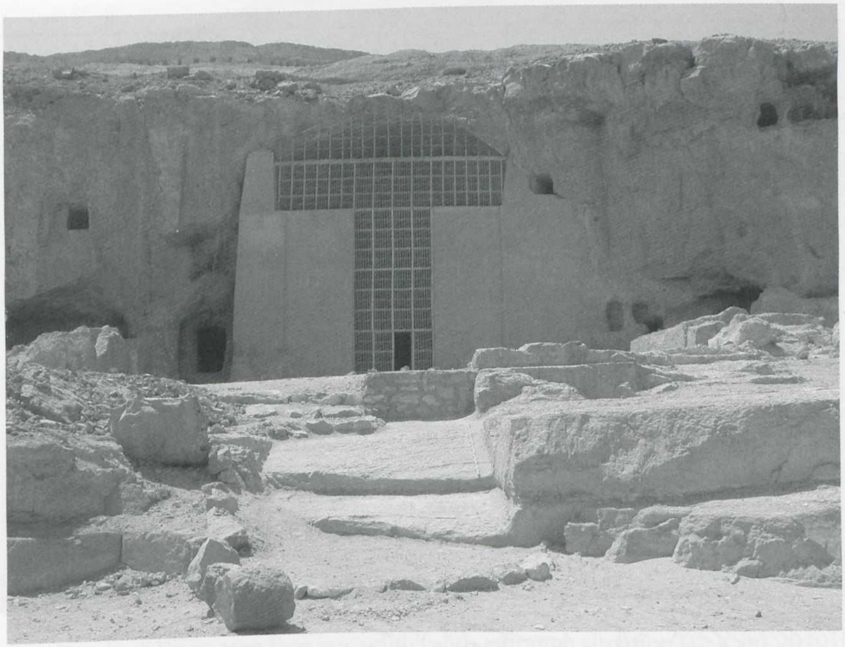
Pl. 31a: Tomb O13.1 (Tomb II), view from north-east (© Kahl 2003).



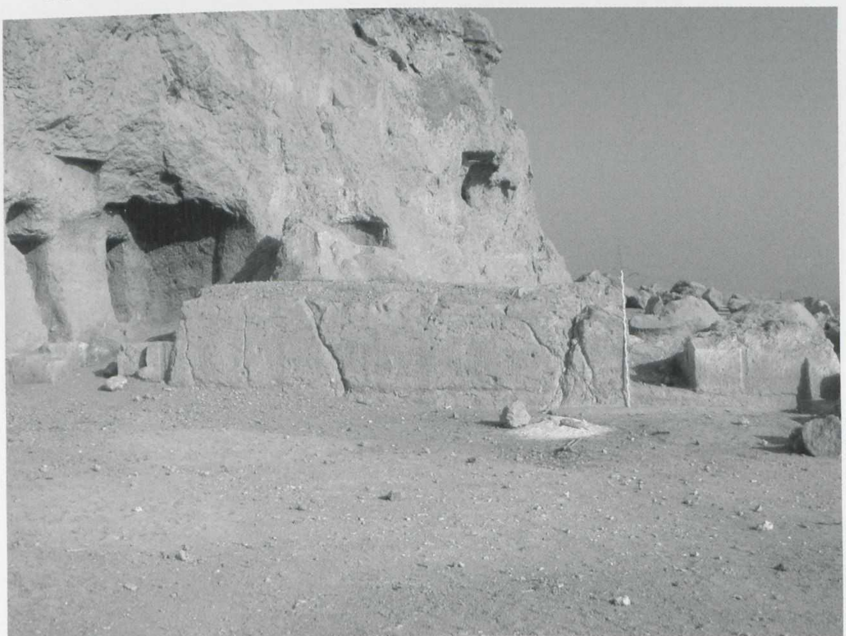
Pl. 31b: Tomb O13.1 (Tomb II), interior view from north (© Barthel 2010).



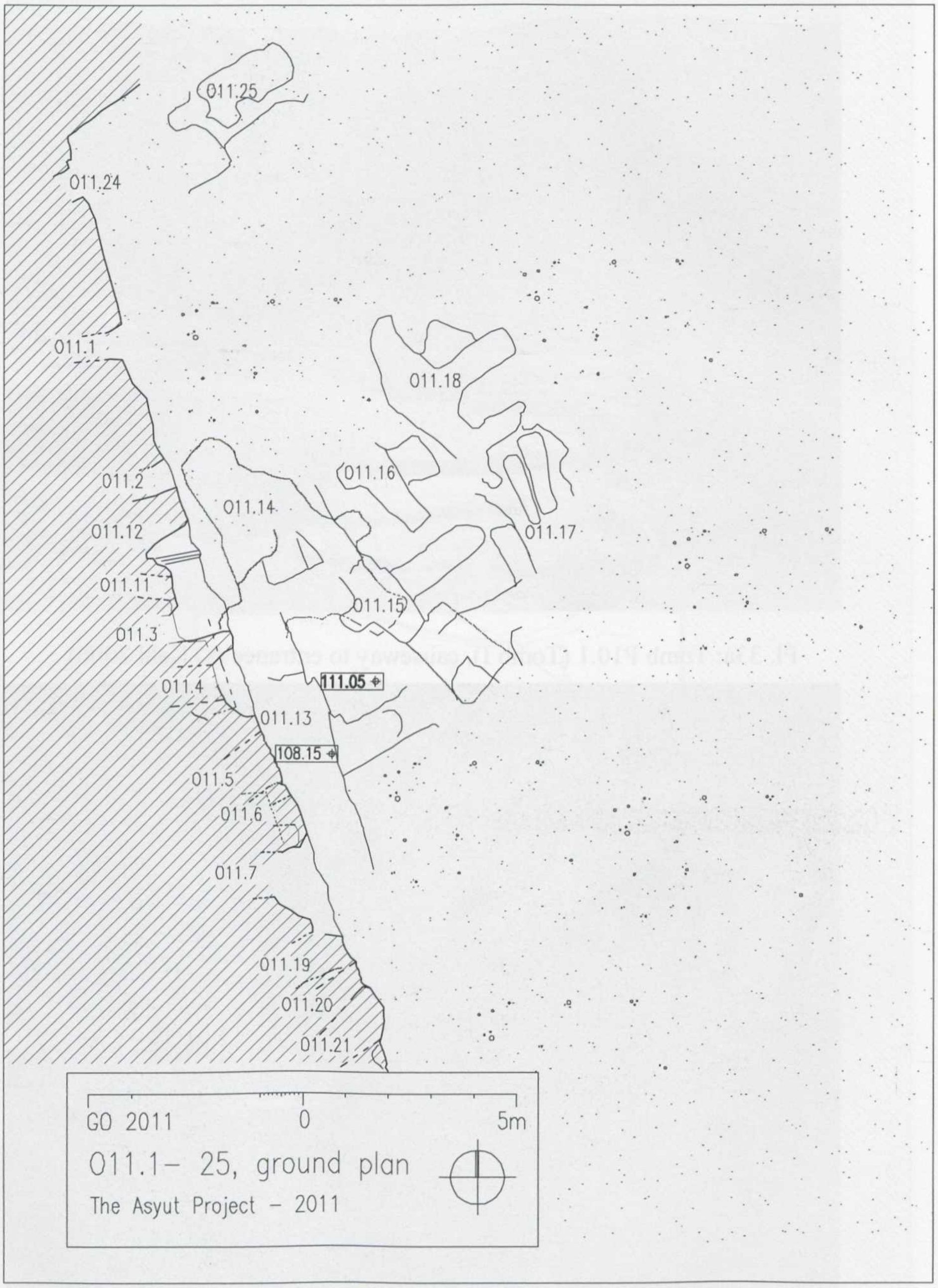
Pl. 32: Tomb P10.1 (Tomb I), ground plan (© The Asyut Project; Garbert 2009).



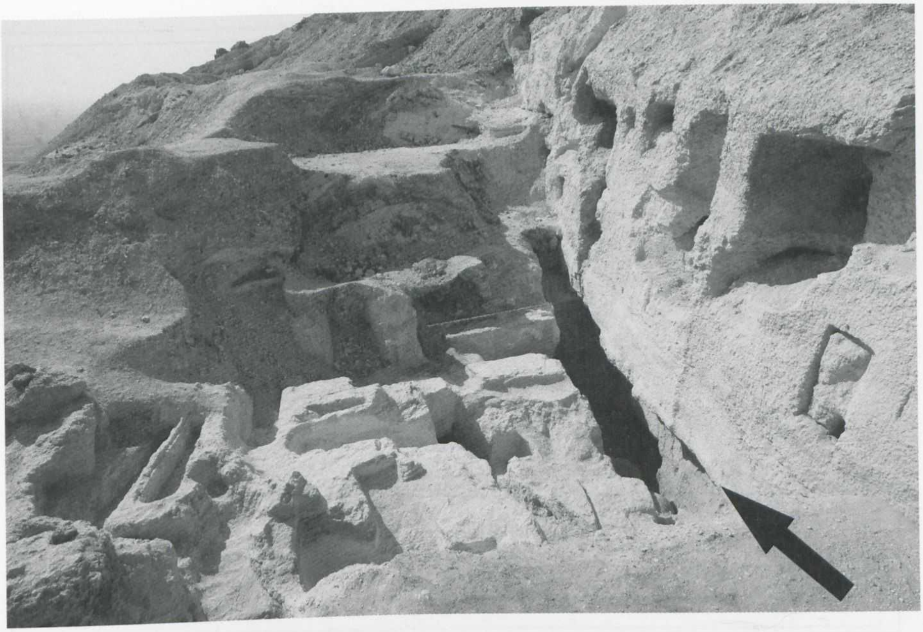
Pl. 33a: Tomb P10.1 (Tomb I), causeway to entrance (© Kahl 2006).



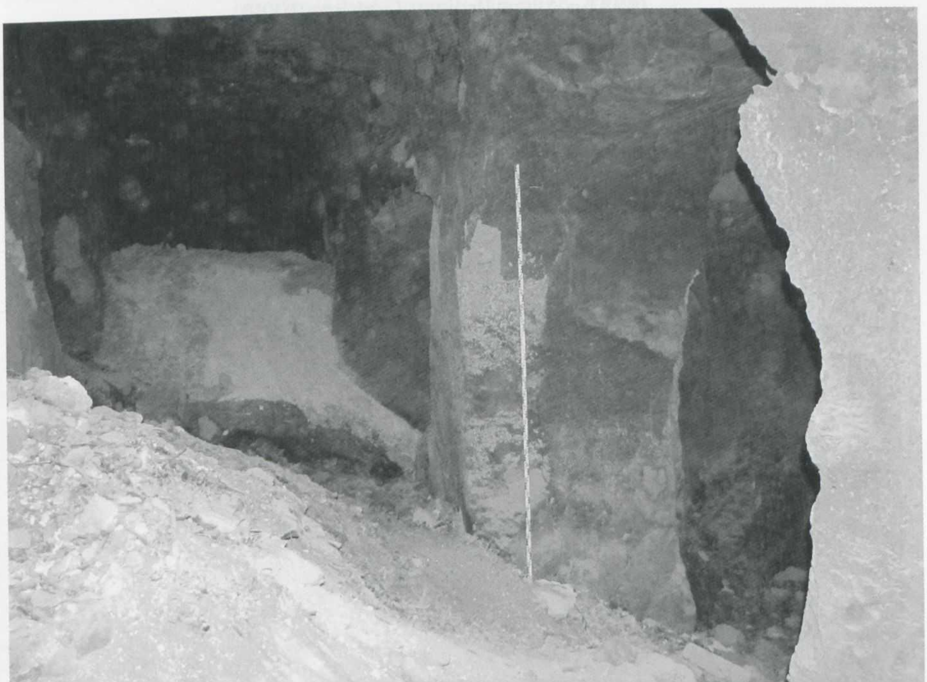
Pl. 33b: Tomb P10.1 (Tomb I), northern part of today's forecourt (© The Asyut Project).



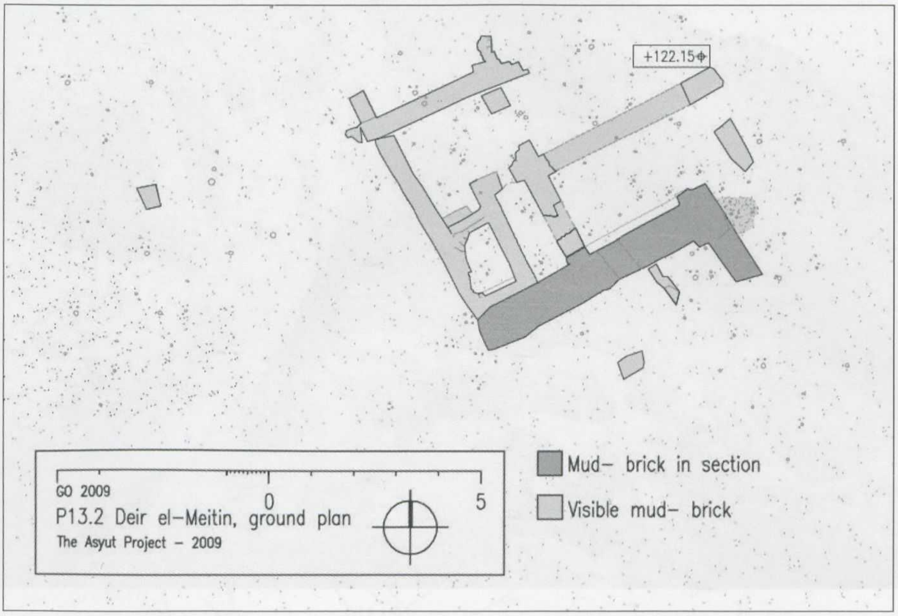
Pl. 34: O11.1-O11.25: Tomb of Dogs area, ground plan (© The Asyut Project, Goerlich 2011).



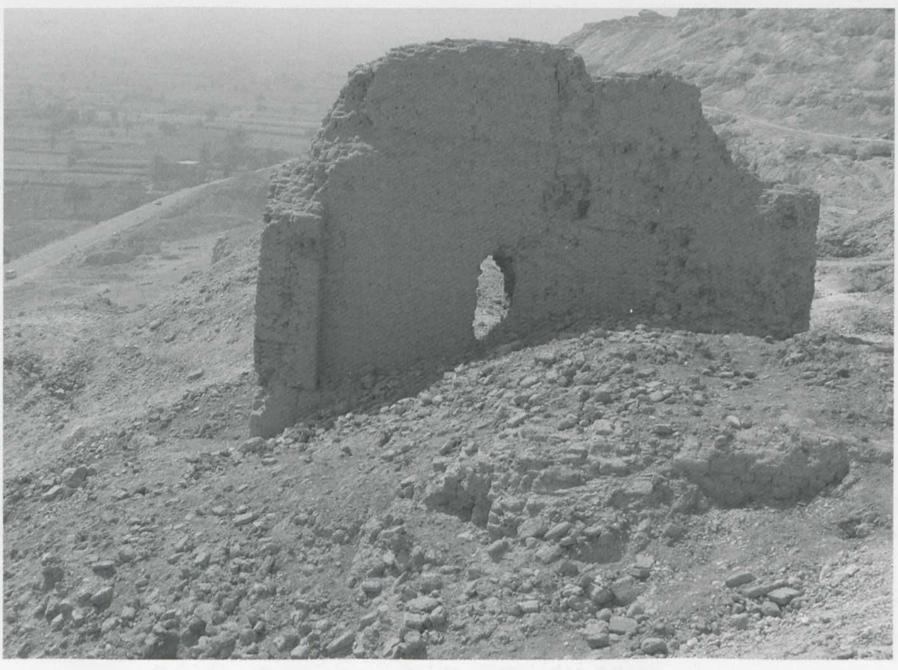
Pl. 35a: Tomb of Dogs area looking south, with entrance situation (© Kahl 2010).



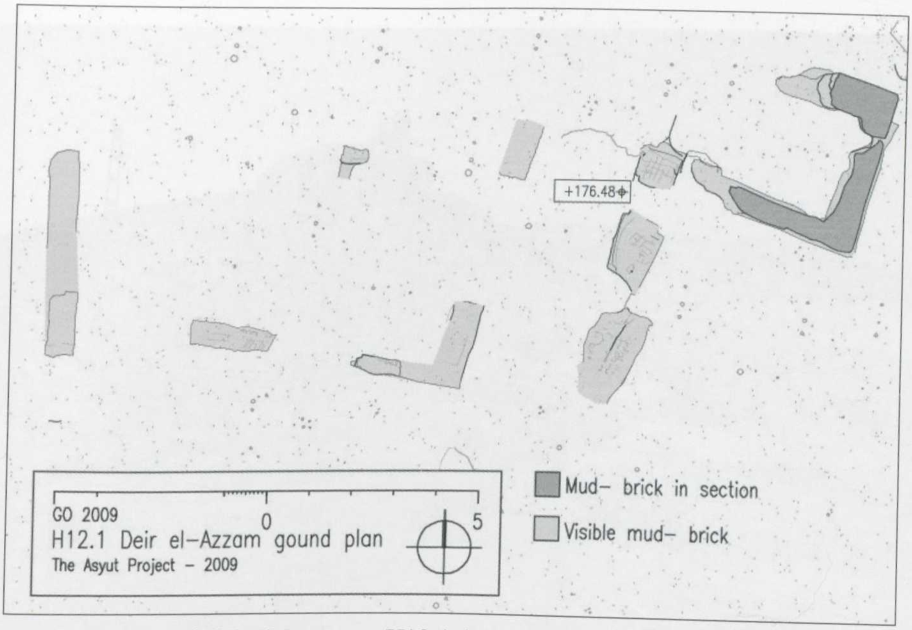
Pl. 35b: O11.13: Tomb of Dogs, interior view (© Kahl 2010).



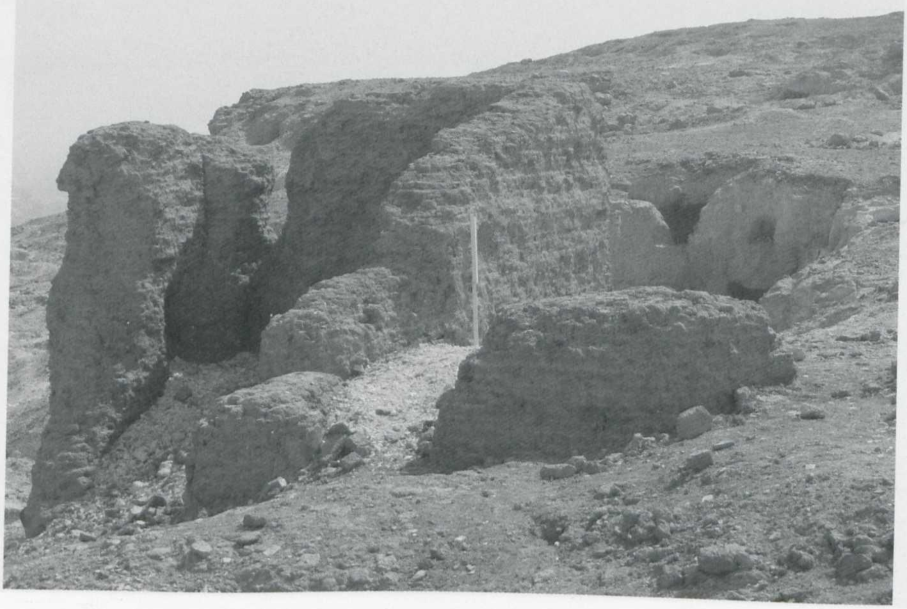
Pl. 36a: Monastery P13.2 (Deir el-Meitin), ground plan
(© The Asyut Project; Goerlich 2009).



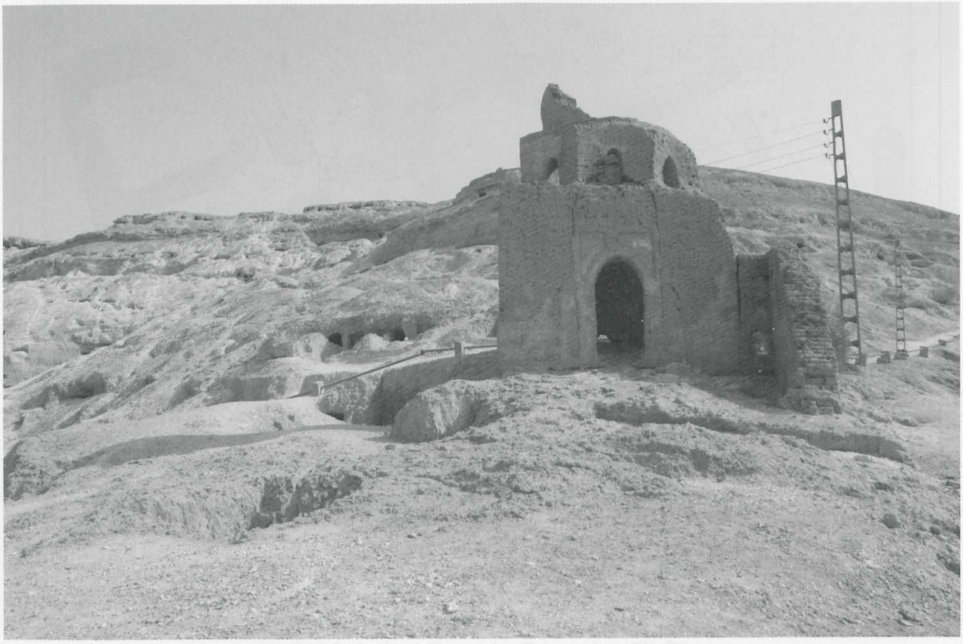
Pl. 36b: Monastery P13.2 (Deir el-Meitin) (©The Asyut Project; Sanhueza-Pino 2008).



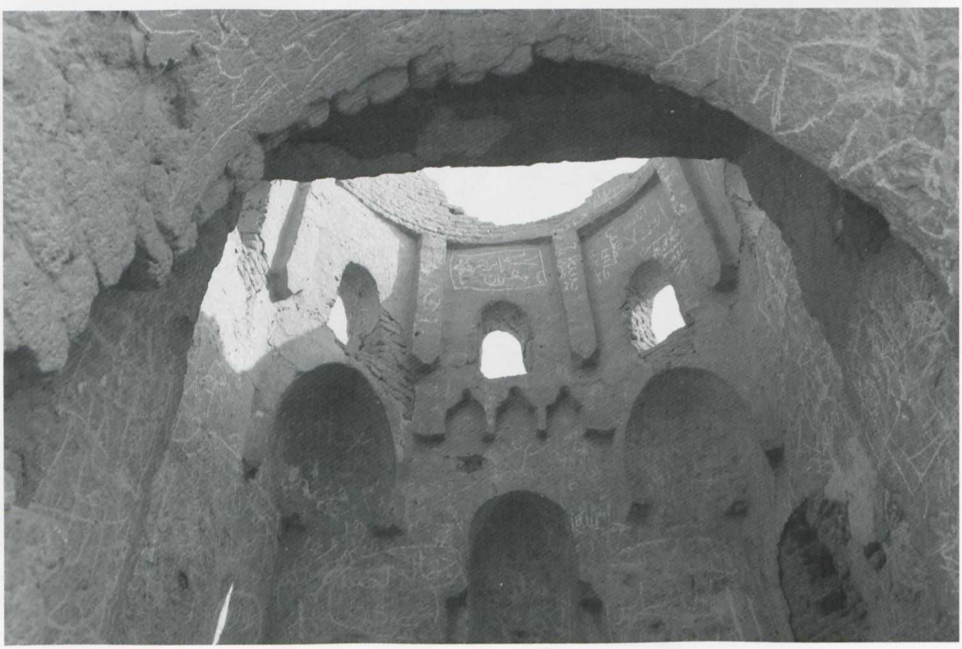
Pl. 37a: Monastery H12.1 (Deir el-Azzam), ground plan
(© The Asyut Project; Goerlich 2009).



Pl. 37b: Monastery H12.1 (Deir el-Azzam) (© Kahl 2007).



Pl. 38a: Mausoleum of Sheikh Abu-Tug, view from north (© Barthel 2010).



Pl. 38b: Mausoleum of Sheikh Abu-Tug, interior (© Barthel 2010).